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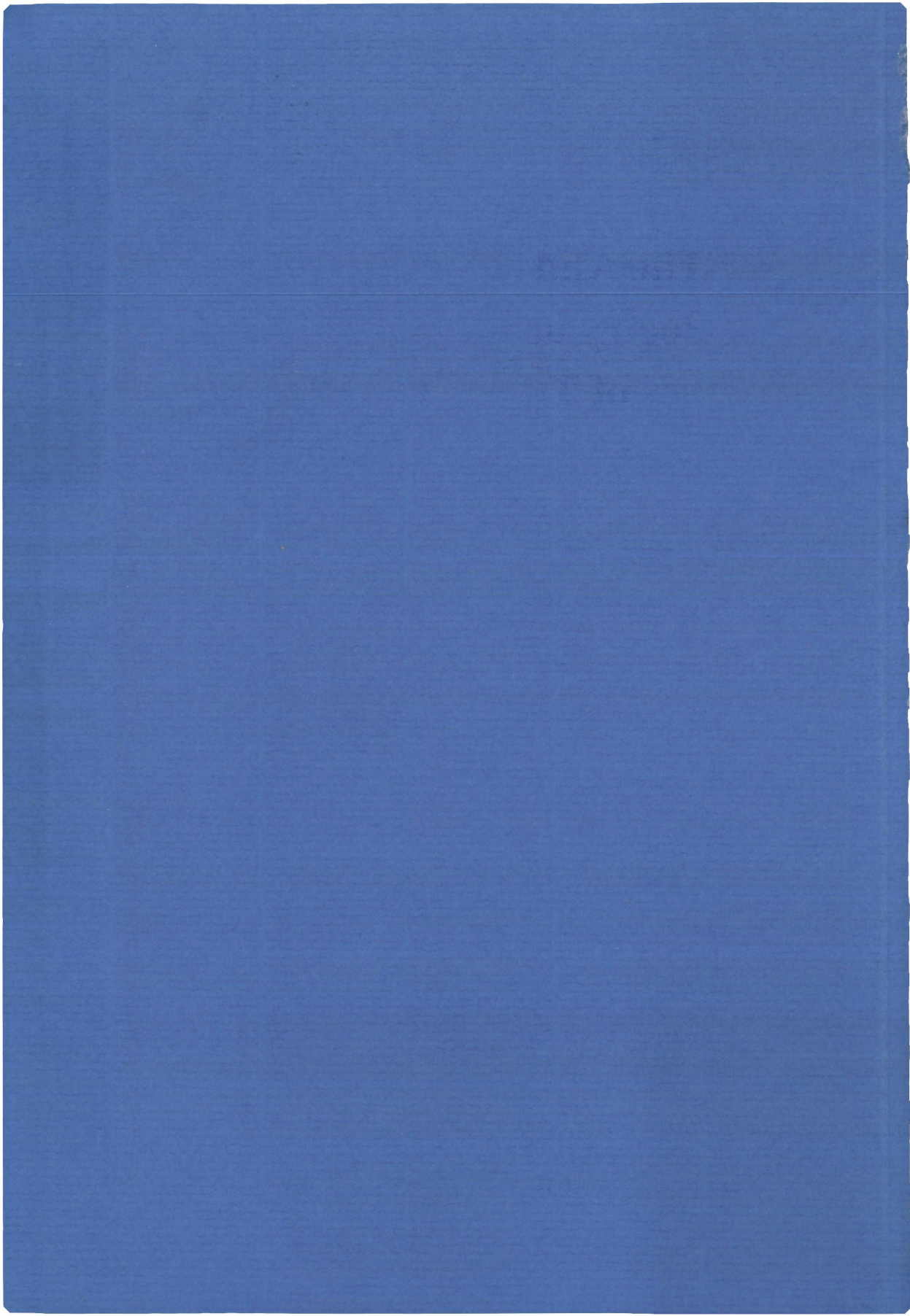
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The Andalusian *Xarja*-s:
Poetry at the Crossroads
of Two Systems?

• بالخيال والخيال بجميده خلفت للخلود في معنى الجود والهمج ودر العلياء والارفا •
• يا منصرف البناء فرغت للبحر كنك غداة ملأ العيار وتشق الأبا ومنه زخا في الجوان مشقته عنفا •
• الفاديه افتديده ديوان العنصر حمله يشق من السرج وغشوان مع شفا •



The Andalusian *Xarja*-s: Poetry at the Crossroads of Two Systems?

een wetenschappelijke proeve
op het gebied van de Letteren

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aan de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
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Transcription of Arabic and Hebrew

I used the following transcription-systems:

Arabic

Consonants: b, t, ṭ, j, ḥ, x, d, ḏ, r, z, s, š, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, z, ^c, ġ, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y.

Initial *hamza* is omitted.

Article: al- (even before solar consonantes)

Long vowels: ā, ī, ū (Capitals: A, I, U)

Diphtongs: ay, aw.

In all quotations from *xarja*-s from the publications of Corriente, the vowels á, í, ú are used for accentuated syllables, according to his transcription-system. In this system, the sign + is used for *hamza waṣl*. In some quotations, other transcription systems can be used. In some cases, I adapted these systems to my own system, if necessary.

Hebrew

Consonants: ', b (b), g (g), d (d), h, w, z, ḥ, ṭ, y, k (k), l, m, n, s, ^c, p (p), š, q, r, , š, t (t).

Vowels: ă, a, ā, ě, e, ē, i, ī, ō, o, ō, u, ū, ^{mobile}

0 Introduction and presentation

The subject of this study are the *xarja*-s, which are the final verses of some poems in Moorish Spain written in classical Arabic, colloquial Hispano-Arabic, Romance, or in a mixture of Arabic and Romance. In the Middle Ages, two new forms of poetry developed within the Arabic literature. The new element in these forms of poetry, the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*, is the introduction of the strophe (classical Arabic poetry is based exclusively on monorhymed lines). These types of poems reached their apogee between the 11th and the 13th century, not only in al-Andalus (Moorish Spain), but also in other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. Hispano-Hebrew poets imitated their Arabic examples and it is significant for Romance studies that analogous strophic poems can be found in all the regions where Romance languages are spoken.

The *muwaššah* was written in classical Arabic or in Hebrew, except the final lines, the so-called *xarja*, which means 'exit'. The *zajal* is mainly written in one of the Hispano-Arabic dialects. The *xarja* is usually a quotation or a semi-quotation from another poem or song and contrasts with the body of the *muwaššah* on several levels. The Romance *xarja*-s were deciphered and partially interpreted in 1948 by the orientalist Samuel Miklos Stern (Stern 1948) and they are important material for the Romance literatures because of the very early date (the earliest can be traced back to the year 1040).

The central objective of this study is to give an answer to the question whether these *xarja*-s can be considered as authentic testimonies from early-medieval Romance lyric, in order to make a contribution to the study of early-medieval Romance literature. Within this central objective I wish to formulate three questions:

A Description of genre

Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry does not stand by itself. In all areas of Romance languages we find strophic poetry with an analogous structure. In Italy we find the *lauda* and *ballata*, in the Provence and in Northern-France the *cançó*, *virelai* and the *rondeau* and the late-Latin *rondellus* and on the Iberian Peninsula the Galaico-Portuguese *cantigas* and the Castilian *canciones*, *deçires*, *villancicos*, *estrambotes* and *serranillas*. In this study I attempt to analyse the main common features of, as well as the differences between early Romance and Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry.

B Versification and prosodic features

The *xarja* usually does not exceed the limit of two, three or four lines or hemistichs, tristichs, etc. According to the *poetica* of the *muwaššah*, the Romance *xarja* must rhyme with other lines which are written in Arabic or Hebrew. The Arabic and Hebrew rules for rhyme are different from the Romance system. One of the questions to be answered is how the poet

solved this problem. The Arabic prosodical system is based on quantity and the Romance system is based on syllable-stress. Here, too, I try to give an answer to the question which system ruled these *xarja*-s, Arabic or Romance. If this question will remain unanswered, we may determine the *xarja*-s as a form of poetry 'at the cross roads of two literary systems'.

C Thematical interpretation.

Within this question I want to discuss the interpretations of the *xarja*-s in detail with special focus on thematic features. Here also, the *xarja*-s may be situated within the Arabic or Romance tradition, or 'at the cross roads of these two lyrical traditions'. As has been said, the *muwaššah* was written in classical Arabic or in Hebrew. The topics and metaphors in this part of the poem can be related easily with Eastern literary convention. The *xarja* is opposed to the rest of the poem. Usually the *xarja*-s from the Romance series are sung by a female, introduced by the (male) poet in the line preceding the *xarja*. This is a less common feature in *xarja*-s written in colloquial Arabic. According to many studies, the *xarja*-s share more thematic features with the Romance tradition in general and Galaico-Portuguese in particular than with the Arabic tradition, which will be discussed in this study.

More specific delineation

Since the past century, many different theses have been formulated concerning the origin of these strophic poems, e.g. the Arabic, Hebrew, liturgical and indigenous or traditionalistic thesis. The main objective of this study is not to formulate a new thesis or to prove one of the existing theses. Attention will be paid to the mutual common features in the strophic poetry from the two lyrical traditions and/or the differences between them.

Methodological description

After this introduction I want to describe the linguistic situation of al-Andalus. The most important theories concerning the use of bilingualism in al-Andalus will be discussed. In chapter 2 a survey is given of the evolution from *qaṣīd* to *muwaššah* and *zajal*. In chapter 3 I give a detailed analysis of the medieval Arabic treatises which are relevant for Andalusian strophic poetry. The terminology in these works - in many cases inconsistent and equivocal - will be classified and defined, in order to formulate an exact definition and localization of the Hispano-Arabic strophic poems. In chapter 4 I want to describe the literary background of the Andalusian poets themselves and the sources and editions of Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew *muwaššahāt*. Chapter 5 will be dedicated to the origins and literary development of Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew strophic poetry according to both medieval Arabic and modern theory. Relations to Western literary traditions will be discussed in chapter 6, since the compositional structure of *tawṣīḥ* poetry is comparable to some types of Romance poetry from the Middle Ages. In chapter 7 I want to evaluate the prosodical theories and rhyme of Andalusian strophic poetry in general and the *xarja*-s in particular. Thematic features will be classified in chapter 8 and

interrelationships with other lyrical traditions will be included. Point of departure is the first palaeographical edition of Alan Jones and the recent interpretations of Federico Corriente and Sáenz-Badillos. In chapter 9 I try to describe the stylistic features of the *xarja*-s on the basis of two different models. In the first place I shall make the first attempt, as far as I know, to situate the Andalusian *xarja*-s in the literary tradition of *badīʿ*. Secondly I shall pay special attention to the use of code-switching as a literary technique in these fascinating bilingual texts. Chapter 10, the conclusion, is a recapitulation of my results.

The *xarja*-s have been and are studied from the point of view of one national literature or cultural area. I can say that many studies, and not only in Spain, have focussed on underlining the specific 'Spanish', 'Romance', 'European' or 'Western' features of this 'genuine' traditional type of poetry. In many studies we can read that these *xarja*-s can be situated hardly within the Arabic tradition from the metrical and thematical point of view. It has been argued that these lyrics are a product of a Romance substratum. The themes of love would be 'typically' Spanish. Others prefer to consider these poems as a manifestation of an internal development in Arabic literature. A clear illustration of this segmentation of disciplines is the fact that Arabic titles are missing in the bibliography of Richard Hitchcock (1977). The opposite is also true, since in most studies in Arabic, Western titles are missing, as López-Morillas (1983 and 1991) observed. In the monumental works done by Rikābī and Ġāzī only a very small number of Western titles have been included in the bibliographies. The present comparative study departs from a supra-national perspective, and attempts to evaluate the localization of these types of poems in both Eastern and Western literatures.

1 Bilingualism in al-Andalus

In order to formulate convincing statements concerning the bilingual and hybrid linguistic features of the Romance *xarja*-s, a detailed survey of the divergent, and in many cases contradictory, theories about the linguistic situation of al-Andalus is indispensable. Many contradictions can be explained by the fact that theoreticians described different periods or different regions of al-Andalus. Another factor that can cause such contradictions is the confusion of different types of bilingualism. We can distinguish societies in which each group is monolingual and a small group of bilingual individuals intermediates between them. Another possibility is that all individuals are bilingual. A third type of bilingualism obtains when only one group, a minority for instance, is bilingual in a monolingual society. In reality, many combinations of these three types occur (Appel & Muysken 1987:2). When we study the *xarja*-s, it will be difficult to distinguish societal bilingualism from individual bilingualism. The *xarja*-s are the only bilingual texts which have been handed down from this early period, so that we are unable to compare them with contemporary parallels. The objective of this chapter is to describe the theories on bilingualism in al-Andalus. For the discussions prior to 1970, I follow the dissertation of Thompson (1969), updating it by adding more recently published studies. The first appendix of this study will be dedicated to bilingualism as a literary feature, because in literature in general, and in poetry in particular, bilingualism is a frequent feature. Finally I try to formulate a hypothesis concerning the theoretical implications of the bilingualism of the *xarja*-s in al-Andalus.

The Visigothic invasion brought an abrupt end to the Roman rule in Spain, but did not have too many consequences for the Romance language, except for the inclusion of some loanwords in the lexicon. On the other hand, the Arabic invasion of 711 had an obvious impact on the Romance language. Nevertheless, there is no consensus concerning the linguistic situation in al-Andalus. On the one hand, there are theories which describe al-Andalus as a completely monolingual Arabic-speaking country; the Romance vernacular is then assumed to have disappeared completely in the regions under Arabic control (A). On the other hand, there are scholars who defend the thesis that the use of Arabic was restricted to a relatively small part of the population whereas the Romance dialects were the colloquial language for the majority of the inhabitants of al-Andalus (B). In the third place, there are scholars who describe the linguistic situation of al-Andalus as follows: Romance and Arabic coexisted separately. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants was monolingual Arabic or Romance speaking (C.1). The number of bilingual speakers was very limited. The last theory to be discussed here is based on the assumption that bilingualism existed on a large scale (C.2). Finally, there are scholars who were able to combine more theories since they distinguished different times and/or regions (D).

In this chapter I want to summarize the various viewpoints until the 'discovery' of the Romance *xarja*-s. In chapter 10, I shall demonstrate how important the divulgation of the bilingual and Romance *xarja*-s has been for the corroboration or refutation of some theories about the linguistic situation in al-Andalus. Concluding this study I try to evaluate the importance of this complicated material. One of the main questions is if we can consider these poetical texts as reliable evidence of the use of bilingualism in al-Andalus, or in other words: do these texts reflect the language of the street, as some proponents of the literary theories assert?

Let us examine now the different theories about the linguistic situation in al-Andalus:

A. *The Arabic language replaced the Romance language completely. Mozarabs were monolingual Arabic-speaking*

Latin sources

In many studies, recent and not so recent ones, we find the well-known passage of Alvarus of Cordoba from his *Indiculus luminosus* as proof for the almost total disappearance of the Romance dialects among the Christian citizens of al-Andalus, the Mozarabs. The text is as follows:

Heu proh dolor, legem¹ suam nesciunt Xristiani, et linguam propriam non aduertunt Latini, ita ut omni Xristi collegio uix inueniatur unus in milleno hominum numero qui salutatorias fratri possit ratjonautiliter dirigere litteras. Et repperitur absque numero multiplices turbas qui erudite Caldaicas verborum explicet pompas, ita ut metrica eruditjori ab ipsis gentibus carmine et sublimiori pulcritudine finales clausulas unius littere coartatjone decorent, et iuxta quod linguae ipsius requirit idioma, *que omnes uocales apices commata cola, rithmice*, immo ut ipsis conpetit, metrica uniuersi alfabeti littere per uarias dictjones plurimas uariantes uno fine constringitur uel simili apice. (Gil 1973a:314-15)²

According to Wright (1982:156-157), the final section of the text is almost

1 In the edition of Flórez (*España Sagrada*, XI. 274) we read *linguam*. Aldrete and Wright read *legem*.

2 Quoted in Wright 1982:157. "Alas! Christians do not know their own law, and Latins do not use their own tongue, so that in all the college of Christ there will hardly be found one man in a thousand who can send correct letters of greeting to a brother. And a manifold crowd without number will be found who give out learnedly long sentences of Chaldean rhetoric. So that from the more sophisticated song of those people they embellish their final clauses metrically and in more polished beauty with the bond of a single letter, according to the demands of that tongue, which closes all phrases and clauses with riming vowels and even, as is possible for them, the various expressions containing the letters of the whole alphabet are all metrically reduced to one ending or to a similar letter". For a Spanish translation see Flórez: *España Sagrada*, XI: 274; Simonet (1888 I X). See also Schack (1877 278) and Rodrigues Lapa (1934.25).

'unintelligible'. Wright observes that it is intriguing that here a practice is described in which Christians take over Arabic lines and add bits of their own to the end. The text might be an allusion to the practice of Andalusian strophic poetry, but I think that Alvarus did not necessarily allude to Romance *xarja*-s with the words *finales clausulas*; here it seems more plausible that he alluded to the practice of monorhyme. Still, it is intriguing that he used the word *carmen* ('song') which shows that here music is also involved.³

Another source in Latin are the comments on Christian language in Muslim Spain from the Abbot Samson, who translated letters from Arabic into *latinum eloquium* in the year 863.⁴ Samson was proud of his erudition and complained about the lack of *latinitas* of others, which supports the theories of those scholars who maintain that Latin was not used on a large scale. A very important distinction must be made here between erudite Latin and the Latin vernaculars. The fact that some citizens were not able to write correct (classical) Latin does not mean that they ignored the vernacular language completely.

During the Renaissance and in the Golden Age, we find various remarks about the linguistic situation in al-Andalus.⁵ The most conspicuous views are those of Juan de Mariana (1535-1624) and Bernardo de Aldrete (1560?-1641). Juan de Mariana said - according to the text of Alvarus - that the use of Latin almost disappeared in al-Andalus and that Christians had a thorough command of the Arabic language. The fact that Juan [Hispalense] translated the Bible into Arabic in order to facilitate access to Christian sources for the Moors and Mozarabs, was adduced by Juan de Mariana in support of his theory.⁶ Similar views we read in Aldrete ([1606] 1972:141), who even said that the Mozarabs were able to compose Arabic poetry.⁷ He also said that Arabic was still used in Valencia and Granada.

3 We must not forget that the *muwaššah* had not been invented yet during the life time of Alvarus if Arabic treatises are correct. The fact that Alvarus mentioned the use of vowels and of varying consonants in the rhyming positions is fascinating, and can possibly related to the phenomenon of *ikfā'*, which will be discussed later.

4 The text is as follows: "Et ut mea retrogradet paululum, dum epistole regis Hispaniae ad regem Francorum essent sub era DCCCla dirigende, appellatvs ex regio decreto ego ipse, quatenus, ut pridem facere consueram, ex Caldeo sermone in Latinum eloquium ipsas epistolas deberem transferre, adfui et feci" (quoted by Wright 1982:159).

5 See for the attitude of Spanish linguists from the Renaissance towards the impact of Arabic on the Castilian language Fórneas (1990), and for Nebrija see especially Guerrero Ramos (1989).

6 "Juan [Hispalense] (. .) tradujo la Biblia en lengua árábica con intento de ayudar á los cristianos y á los moros, a causa que la lengua árábica se usaba mucho y comunmente entre todos, la latina ordinariamente ni se usaba ni se sabia" (Mariana [1601] 1950:195).

7 "Esto es digno de considerar, porque quando esto passaba no había más que ciento y treinta años [de] la pérdida de España, y los nuestros, aun sin haber dejado la fe, hacían ventaja en la lengua árábica á los mismos Moros, y se les adelantaban tanto en verso y prosa en tan pocos años (...) Porque aunque algunos cristianos entre los Moros la conservaran, sin duda al paso que referimos, se viniera á perder y acabar como en África".

The 17th century author al-Maqqarī mentions the fact that the Mozarabs spoke Arabic very well. He stated that the spoken dialect of Arabic in al-Andalus was corrupt and that the Andalusians were very competent in writing classical Arabic texts which can compete with the Eastern sources.⁸ Baist⁹ explains the situation as follows: In the 10th century there was nothing left over from the Romance dialects. The Romance became obsolete among all the inhabitants of the Peninsula under Moorish government and the process of arabization was already completed in that period. According to Baist, loanwords are not reliable evidence to gauge bilingualism in al-Andalus. Baist used also the argument that the North-African dynasties of the Almoravids (1086-1147) and Almohads (1171-1223) tried to forbid the use of the Romance language. If his first assumption is true, Baist probably meant that the Berber dynasties tried to eliminate the Romance language of the recent immigrants from the North. Hanssen (1913:8) demonstrated that the Mozarabs of Toledo had completely forgotten the Romance language when the armies of Alfonso VI reconquered the city in the year 1085.¹⁰ The Christians even had Arabic names. Any speculation about the existence or the survival of the Romance language after the year 1164 in al-Andalus is useless, according to Hanssen, because there was no Christian left in these completely islamized regions.

The theory of Américo Castro fits also in this paragraph. He assumed (1956:6) that al-Andalus was a direct spiritual and linguistic continuation of the Islamic East. Although he admits that Romance was spoken on a modest scale, he emphasizes that there is no evidence of a widespread use of this language. Recently, Wasserstein has come to the same conclusion, adding some important observations. He attempts to combine more criteria for his theory. I quote the passage in question:

The variety is too great. What is said of the northern part of the country is not necessarily correct of other areas; cities may well offer patterns different from those of the countryside; the earlier periods differ very much from later ones; class and education introduce other variables; and sex probably does so

8 "The Moslem inhabitants of Andalus being either Arabs or Mústaʿrabs, their language, as may well be inferred, was none other than Arabic. However, it cannot be said but that the common speech, both among the higher and the lower classes, has considerably deviated from the rules of Arabic grammar, so that were an eastern Arab to hear the prince of our grammarians, Shalūbīn, engaged in conversation with another man, he would never believe him to be the author so much consulted and valued in this country, and whose works are circulated and read both in the East and West; and were he to attend one of his lectures he would undoubtedly burst out laughing to hear the blunders he makes in speaking" (Gayangos 1840 II 142-143).

9 Thompson (1969 29), Baist (1908:253 n 4)

10 Alfonso VI, King of León since 1065 and of Castile since 1072, admired the Andalusian culture already before the conquest of Toledo in 1085. In 1072 he was on friendly terms with al-Ma'mūn, the Taifa-King of Toledo. Some scholars even state that Arabic was the only language the king could write. This would be also true for Pedro I, King of Aragón and Navarra (1094-1104) (Ostrower 1965:1: 256).

too. Categorization, again, is very difficult: in terms of language itself, there is the difference between spoken and written forms of any specific language; for their users we have to organize a mixed bag of ethnic and religious boundary markers between and within groups; and in using terms like bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, and so on there is the risk of appearing to give more exactness to the situation than the facts themselves often warrant (Wasserstein 1991:2).

Wasserstein puts all variants of Latin and Romance into one box, denominating them without distinction 'Latin'. Equally, he puts into one category all variations of the Arabic language. Latin and classical Arabic are learned languages which can never be spoken without a specific education. People who did not enjoy such education never could fall in the category 'Latin' or 'Arabic', while they could have used the lower registers of Romance and Arabic. Wasserstein concludes with his thesis that al-Andalus was an exclusively monolingual country already in the 11th century when the Romance language had disappeared almost totally.

This view is not compatible with the fact that captive Romance-speaking Mozarabs were integrated in North-African Almoravid armies. In this context, another important fact is a statement by al-Idrīsī. He mentions the fact that in the year 1154, the native Romance language of North Africa was still spoken in the cities.¹¹ In fact, Wasserstein continued the trend which was set earlier by Wright. In his study, Wright observed that the word *latinus* can lead to modern confusion. In Visigothic times, the term was used to contrast with Greek or Hebrew, and Wright quotes Simonet, who said earlier that in Muslim Spain the term *latinus* was used for the non-Arabic vernacular (as was Arabic, *al-laṭīnī*). "It was not contrasted with any other variety of Latin-Romance speech, and no hint appears of the existence of two spoken layers. There are indications, however, that the writing of this *latinus* in the correct manner was hard" (Wright 1982:156). Another fact is, according to Wright (1982:158) the use of the term 'moro latinado' in the *Poema del Cid*, lines 2661-70. The term is used specifically because the person in question speaks and understands vernacular Spanish. Wright concludes his theory postulating that the term *latín* with the meaning of a non-Romance Latin, is a borrowing from French, documented in the year 1100 approximately. The existence of two or more layers of Romance, or Latin, is anachronistic, as Wright observes. The distinction between *latinum circa romanum* and *latinum obscurum* from a Toledo document, dates from 1290, when Latin and Romance are obviously distinguishable. In his view, this distinction must not be applied automatically to earlier times.¹² He goes a little further when he says that

11 Monroe (1989:29:n.16). See also Lewicki (1951-2:418;430).

“medieval latin did not exist in Moslem Spain before the fall of Toledo (1085) and probably never existed there at all”.

B. *The use of Arabic was restricted; Romance was spoken on a large scale*

This theory has achieved less success than the former. Eguílaz y Yanguas states that the Moors never succeeded in influencing the Christian civilization. He even states that the Andalusian Arabic culture was not the product of Arabs, but renegade Christians, *muwalladūn* and Jews (1886: VIII-IX). His main argument for his theory is the fact that Arabic authors mentioned the use of Romance in Aragón, Zaragoza and Valencia. He was not the only scholar who was not averse to nationalist, xenophobic and even racist statements. One of the best examples of this category are the statements by Masdeu, who maintains that Spain was the most cultivated country in Europe when the Arabs conquered it. The Hispano-Romans already were a civilized and literate people and the Arabs were not.¹³ Cejador y Frauca (1932:I:107-108) made the assumption that the Mozarabic dialect was not very different from the northern dialects. He even made the statement that Andalusian authors such as Ibn Ḥazm wrote ‘in the tradition of Isidorus of Seville’.¹⁴

Sánchez Albornoz hypothesized that the process of arabization and islamization went very slowly (1946/1973:I:356). The Christians showed, according to Sánchez Albornoz, a great reticence in accepting Islam and the Arabic language and manners. The Romance was even spoken by the caliph himself, and the Moors themselves were divided into many sections of Arabic-speaking individuals, with different dialects, and Berber-speaking tribes, also with different languages and dialects. This minority would never be capable of imposing their language on the seven or eight million Christians. He also supposed that the Berbers only spoke their own language and that they were not able to speak Arabic. Sánchez Albornoz took his information from the *Kitāb al-Quḍāt bi-Qurṭuba*, written by al-Xuṣānī.¹⁵ Sánchez Albornoz concludes:

El habla de los dominadores fue difundiendo de prisa entre

12 The text is as follows: “Ille est vituperandus qui loquitur latinum circa romanum, maxime coram laicis, ita quod ipso met intelligunt totum; et ille est laudandus qui semper loquitur latinum obscure, ita quod nullus intelligat eum nisi clerici, et ita debent omnes clerici loqui latinum suum obscure in quantum possunt et non circa romanum” (Wright 1982:159:n.7).

13 Juan Francisco Masdeu (1744-1817): *Historia Crítica de España* T. XIII, 173. See also: Eguílaz y Yanguas, who shares this opinion (1886:VIII-IX)

14 “La literatura castellana no debe nada a la árabe. Los principales escritores de la escuela histórica cordobesa, Abenalcutia, Abenhayan, Abenhamaz, Abenpascual, son descendientes de mozárabes o de muladíes. Los mozárabes conservan la cultura hispanolatina, siguiendo la tradición isidoriana, y procuraron la comunicación en cultura y libros, con los árabes orientales” (Cejador y Frauca 1932:108).

15 Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥārīt al-Xuṣānī lived in the 10th century.

los dominados, pero nunca llegó a ser adoptada por todos, en los primeros siglos de la señoría islamita en la Península. Y en pleno período califal, mientras los nietos de los musulmanes eran bilingües -incluso los califas, que hacían chistes sucios en romance y eran raros de entre ellos quienes hablaban bien el árabe- no era fácil por ello encontrar buenos predicadores para la mezquita mayor, había aún muchos españoles islamitas que no poseían sino su lengua vernácula (...)(1946¹ /1973:I:356)

It must be observed, that the majority of the scholars did not yet make a clear distinction between 'Latin' and 'Romance' on the one hand (Schack 1988:278), and between 'classical Arabic' and 'colloquial' on the other hand. Sánchez Albornoz probably alluded to classical Arabic. It seems to me erroneous to draw the conclusion that the use of Arabic was not very common. Of course, a *predicador para la mezquita* had to be a learned Muslim who was familiar with classical Arabic. It might be true that there was a scarcity at that time of such learned people, but this does not mean that colloquial Arabic was not spoken on a large scale. It is possible however, and even very likely, that well-educated Moors with a perfect knowledge of the classical Arabic would constitute a minority, and to this extent he is right. In any study of the linguistic situation in al-Andalus, a clear distinction must be made between classical and colloquial Arabic and between Latin and Romance.

A contemporary of Sánchez Albornoz was López Madera whose observations reflect the castellano-centrist conception of the Mozarabic dialects. In his days the Castilian language was the national norm, and consequently, he assumes that in the medieval periods, the centre of the Peninsula was also the centre of the country. The dialect spoken by the central region was the pure and original form of Castilian.

como oy no vale el argumento del vulgar de Asturias y Montañas para inferir que es el mismo el de Castilla y Andalucía, no a de valer tampoco en los tiempos de atrás (...). Pero, en cambio, en el reino de Toledo, a pesar de su contacto con el árabe, la lengua indígena, el castellano, se había conservado con más pureza. Por eso, conforme nuestros Reyes yuan conquistando más hazia el Reyno de Toledo, más se yuan sus gentes limando en el lenguaje al relacionarse y convivir con los Christianos Mozárabes los quales auían conseruado en su propiedad la lengua antigua Española (*apud* Alarcos 1934:219).

C.1. *Romance and Arabic coexisted; bilingualism was almost inexistent*

Theories (A) and (B) represent opposite views. Since the 19th century, more moderate theories were formulated. Von Schack (1988:278) described the linguistic situation in his study of Arabic poetry in detail. Most

of the Mozarabs, according to von Schack, were arabized quickly after the Reconquest, but they continued to speak 'Latin' or 'Romance' which survived as the language of the people and there were even many Muslim Andalusians who spoke the Romance language. Menéndez Pidal stated that the manifold mutual political, commercial and social contacts, such as marriages between Moors and Christians, had resulted in the omnipresence of Arabic elements in the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula. This scholar also dealt with the so-called *enaciados* (1904¹/1973:22), which tells us something about the existence of bilingualism. Menéndez Pidal mentions these individuals, who operated between the two parties as spies, intermediaries, messengers or couriers. They were completely bilingual. He also mentions the so-called *moros latinados* or *ladinos* in the Arabic-speaking community who spoke Romance. On the other hand there were also the *cristianos algarabiados* who spoke Arabic fluently, and *dragomanes*, also called *trujamanes* or in Catalan *torsimanyes* (Burns 1984:186). It must be said that the existence of these individuals does not constitute evidence that widespread bilingualism existed. The fact that these *dragomanes* were needed rather demonstrates the lack of bilinguals. They were needed, because many people were monolingual. We know nothing about the number of these *moros latinados* and *cristianos algarabiados*. For Menéndez Pidal, the fact that El Cid, when he entered Valencia, found Christians there who spoke only Arabic, is clear evidence of the continuation of Christian culture. Recently, Epalza and Llobregat (1982:27) refuted the thesis of Menéndez Pidal, and according to them, most of these Christians immigrated to the Taifa-Kingdoms in the 11th century. They even stated that already in the 8th century in the Eastern coast (*Šarq al-Andalus*) and on the Balears, no indigenous Christian was left (1982:8), and the Christians who were persecuted by the Almoravids and Almohads were mainly 'foreign' Christians from the North, rather than 'indigenous'. The most important reason for such a thesis is the disappearance of organized Christians and the non-existent episcopates. The process of arabization and islamization in the Eastern part of al-Andalus was completed in the 13th century according to Epalza and Llobregat (1981:31), although they admit that the situation in the South and middle of the Iberian Peninsula was different, because it is an established fact that Christians took up arms against the Muslims.¹⁶ Another argument used by Menéndez Pidal is the fact that Jacobo de Vitry states that Latin is still used by the Mozarabs in the 13th century.¹⁷

Lapesa (1983⁹:129-130) only points to the existence of the two languages side by side. He does not mention which specific groups used what lan-

16 Ibn Hawqal found rebellious Christian communities who took a Muslim castle in the 10th century (Simonet 1897:604; Epalza & Llobregat 1981:28).

17 Jacques de Vitry: *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170-1240)*, évêque de Saint-Jean d'Acre. Leiden: R.B.C. Huygens, 1960.

guage and when.

One fragment written by the famous linguist and lexicographer Ibn Sīda from Murcia (1007-1066), author of the two dictionaries *Kitāb al Muḥkam* and *Kitāb al-muxaṣṣaṣ*, was for Ribera evidence of the existence of a Romance language spoken in Murcia, which coexisted with Arabic. In this fragment, Ibn Sīda complains about the difficult circumstances in which he works as a purist, living among 'ajam-people'.¹⁸ Ribera translates this word as 'personas que hablan romance', but recently, Bramon stated that this translation must be corrected. According to her thesis, 'ajam must be interpreted in ethnic terms rather than linguistic. 'Ajam means 'non-Arabic people' and not 'non-Arabic speaking people'.¹⁹ Her view has been supported by Epalza (1981:168) and Barçeló (1979).

C.2. *There was Arabic/Romance bilingualism*

Simonet maintains that the Mozarabs never forgot the national, religious and literary language of their ancestors. The existence of codices written in Latin until the end of the Reconquest is proof for his theory. A second argument for his thesis is the occurrence of many Romance loanwords in the Hispano-Arabic language, especially in the *Vocabulista in Arábigo* by fray Pedro de Alcalá. This is possible if the Romance was spoken on a large scale throughout the country by the major part of its inhabitants.²⁰

The idea of a totally successful integration and a complete bilingualism in al-Andalus, was sustained by Steiger. In his view, the Mozarabs became monolingual Arabic-speaking individuals during the 12th century, when the majority was forced to move to the Northern Kingdoms (1967:96). In the preceding centuries, al-Andalus was a bilingual society.

Since these theories have their restrictions, more criteria need to be added. Lévi-Provençal (1953:76) posited a linguistic opposition between the cities, where the Arabic language dominated as the vehicle of the learned society, and the countryside, where Romance was prevalent. Madariaga was the first to consider the difference in social stratification of al-Andalus. Arabic was the language of the higher educated members of society, and Romance was the language of the lower ranks of society. He admits

18 The text of Ibn Sīda (*Kitāb al-muxaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo, I, 14) is as follows: "fa-kayfa bi ma'a ta'axxuri awānī wa-bu'dī makānī wa-muṣāhabatī li-l-'ajam". The translation of Ribera "Y cómo no he de cometerlos yo, si escribo en tiempos tan alejados (de cuando el árabe sé hablaba con pureza) y teniendo que vivir con personas que hablan romance?" (1928 110).

19 "No estem d'acord, però, en la traducció proposada per Ribera, és a dir, creiem que el filòleg no es referia a persones «que parlaven aljamia», sinó a persones «no àrabs». Discrepem, doncs, del significat donat a l'expressió *li-l-'ajam*, terme, entre els àrabs, d'etimologia i d'evolució semàntica paral·leles a les del mot βαρβαροι entre els grecs i que no ha de referir-se a la llengua emprada per determinades persones sinó a la seua nissaga, no àrab en el nostre cas" (Bramon 1977 20)

20 "Resulta de todo esto que los Mozárabes de España nunca llegaron á olvidar el idioma de sus antepasados, su idioma religioso, literario y nacional" (Simonet 1988 XXVI).

that there were Muslims who spoke only Romance (1957:17). Entwistle (1936:106) does not make a clear distinction between the registers of Arabic either. He maintains that "Romance was the language of the marketplace, of all women and of unofficial intercourse." Arabic was the language of "administration, literature and highclass families claiming Arabian descent." Zamora Vicente came out with a thesis, which in my opinion shows a contradiction. According to this scholar, the higher levels of society were bilingual and simultaneously he postulates that Romance was only in use in the lower ranks of society. He quotes the fragment from al-Muqaddasī, discussed above, as evidence of his theory. Al-Muqaddasī mentions the variety of spoken Arabic in al-Andalus.²¹ This local variety was hard to understand for an Arab from the East and according to al-Muqaddasī also a form of Romance was in use in al-Andalus similar or related to the Romance, or Latin language (*rūmī*). The same author stated that it was unusual for certain Arabic families of high society not to know Romance, which proves that they were bilingual.

We know also from Arabic sources that Romance was spoken in al-Andalus. Ibn Ḥazm (994-1063) states that not knowing Latin does not occur very frequently among the Muslims who lived in Aguilar and Morón in his time (Abu Rub 1990:41).²²

It is a well known fact that many learned Jews spoke very well both Arabic and Romance. It is very probable that Mošeh b. ʿEzrā, who was born in Granada in 1055 and died in 1138, studied Christian commentaries on the Bible in Latin (Díez Macho 1953:15) and in his *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-l-mudākara* (Book of Lecturing and Memorizing) we read the following passage:

When I was a young man in my native land I was once asked by a great Islamic scholar who was well versed in the religious disciplines of Islam and most kind towards me, to recite the Ten Commandments for him in Arabic. I realized his intention: he, in fact, wanted to belittle the quality of their language (i.e. Hebrew). So I asked him to recite to me the first sūrah -the Fātiḥah- of his Qurʾān in Romance, a language he could speak and understand very well. When he tried to render the Fātiḥah in the above mentioned language, it sounded ugly and was completely distorted. He noticed what I had in mind and did not press me further to fulfill his request.²³

21 Šams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannāʾ al-Šāmī al-Muqaddasī, author of the *Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (985) was born in Jerusalem in the year 945.

22 See also Burns (1984:174) and Américo Castro (1956:8).

23 *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara*, chapter 3, 24a, pp. 42-44, translation Rosenthal, *apud* Brann (1991:196). For a Spanish translation see Díez Macho (1953:14).

In this fragment we find the evidence of the existence of learned Muslims who were able to speak Romance. Brody affirms that Ibn ʿEzrā also knew Latin (Díez Macho 1953:14:n.17).

In a recent study Wright concluded that the Christian community in al-Andalus was mostly bilingual in speech, *ladino* according to his terminology and Arabic. By the end of the 9th century they became literate in Arabic alone (Wright 1994:265). After the year 860, there was no Christian left in al-Andalus who was able to write Latin, which explains the lack of documents in Latin from that period.

D. *Combinations of different theories*

Galmés de Fuentes (1983:14-17) combined various theories and distinguished three periods in the linguistic development in Muslim Spain. In the first period, the Mozarabs not only preserved their Romance language for domestic purposes, but Romance was also the dominant language of all inhabitants of al-Andalus, even of Muslims. There were even Muslims who were not proficient in the Arabic language and only spoke *aljamiado* or Romance.²⁴ Galmés also makes a clear distinction between the main cities, such as Toledo and Sevilla, inhabited almost exclusively by *hispano-godos* while the Muslims preferred to live in the countryside.

During the second period the impact of the Mozarabs diminished steadily ('postramiento', as Galmés puts it), with the year 1099 as the limit, the first persecution of the Mozarabs. After the year 1102 the majority of the Mozarabs emigrated to the North.

The third period is dominated by the two invasions from North Africa, the Almoravid and the Almohad. The number of Mozarabs decreased dramatically because of execution or forced emigration, not only to the North, but also to North-Africa.²⁵ *Despite these facts, the culture of the Mozarabs did not disappear, according to Galmés. The Romance language still had a considerable social and even literary power. He adduces the frequently quoted botanic authors Ibn Buklariš, who wrote shortly before the reconquest of Alfonso el Batallador in the year 1118 and Ibn al-Bayṭār from Málaga who died in 1248.*

These authors used Hispano-Romance loanwords, and this demonstrates that bilingualism existed, according to Galmés. His last argument is the existence of many Romance items in the Arabic vocabulary of the Grana-

24 The term *aljamiá* is ambiguous. Galmés clearly distinguishes the words 'aljamiá' used by the Moors of Spain, which means the 'foreign' language, and 'aljamiado-morisca', used by the Christians to designate the language of the *Moriscos*. *Aljamiado* is also used for the latter, which can be confusing.

25 See *Iḥāta* I:41-43 of Ibn al-Xaṭīb (Dozy 1881¹/1965:360-361).

dian Moors in the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcalá (1505). Galmés even speaks about a 'mixed language'.²⁶

Corriente (1991:66) also formulated a theory that combines different viewpoints of earlier studies. He follows the tendency set by Madariaga, Lévi Provençal and Entwistle, stating that Romance was the "prestigeless language of women, peasants and slaves". He added the observation that "most people still understood it [Romance] better or worse but very few cared to speak it anymore, and yet it was suitable for folkloric rendering of certain domestic scenes". In a recent amplified and updated Spanish version of his grammar of Andalusian Arabic (Corriente 1977), we find the following point of view concerning bilingualism (Corriente 1992:33-4):

Es obvio, por lo demás, que el haz dialectal andalusí se genera e implanta en competencia con el romance hispánico nativo, en una situación de bilingüismo, en la que, a pesar del adverso balance demográfico inicial, ocupa claramente la situación dominante, como lengua ciudadana en una cultura netamente urbana y de las clases altas, cultas e integradas en la religión del estado, lo que relega el monolingüismo romance a los sectores rurales, pobres, incultos y cristianos, situación de la que naturalmente intenta salirse la mayoría de los afectados. Ello determina que dicho bilingüismo se convierta pronto en una tendencia al monolingüismo, totalmente realizada en el siglo XIII, lo que no debe hacernos olvidar que ya en los siglos XI y XII las bolsas de bilingüismo eran residuales, por lo que parece haberse exagerado mucho su persistencia y fuerza, dentro de una corriente retronacionalista de algunos arabistas españoles que ha tendido a hacer regla de la anécdota.

Conclusion

It is striking that the Romance and bilingual *xarja*-s have been used for many purposes. Most theories can be correct when they are restricted to one certain region and time and social-ethnic subclass, but if we compare these facts to other linguistic contexts in other times, the situation can be totally different. When Stern deciphered the Romance *xarja*-s in Hebrew poems, this Romance, or Mozarabic material was immediately used by the scholars who defended the thesis of the complete bilingual linguistic society of al-Andalus. It was not only evidence of the fact that Romance was used among the majority of the population, but it was also proof of the existence of a bilingual community because the material was hybrid. The

26 This seems to me exaggerated because if we read the prologue of the *Arte*, we can hardly find loanwords from the Romance language. Even words from the Christian vocabulary, such as 'church', 'catechism' are translated into Arabic. Of course, many Romance items are included in the *Vocabulista*, but lexical transfer is not the most suitable criterion to gauge bilingualism, as Thompson already demonstrated (1969:45ff).

Romance lines are intermingled with Arabic morphemes, lexemes, rhymemes or even whole syntagms. For Menéndez Pidal they were evidence of the uninterrupted lyrical tradition of Romance popular song, as Ribera had put it earlier 1912, without being aware of the existence of these texts. What was presumed earlier, became also an established fact for García Gómez, who emphasized the 'prophetic' words of his master Ribera in many publications. Almost everyone followed Menéndez Pidal and García Gómez, sustained by the supplementary observations from Dámaso Alonso (1949;1950). The discovery by Stern was soon to be considered one of the most important contributions to Hispanic studies and even to European philology in the 20th century.²⁷ For García Gómez, the deciphering of the Romance *xarja*-s corroborated the existence of widespread bilingualism in al-Andalus.²⁸

During the last two decades, the enthusiasm has been toned down and now we can observe a tendency among scholars towards mitigating their formulations since it has become clear that many existing readings and interpretations of the texts began to lose supporters.

In the final conclusion of this study I shall make an attempt to answer the following questions:

- Do the bilingual *xarja*-s represent or reflect utterances which can be compared to natural speech?
- To what extent was the audience able to understand these bilingual utterances from the 11th to the 13th century?
- Is it possible to classify the *xarja*-s, using geographic, socio-linguistic, or diachronic-linguistic criteria?
- Do the bilingual *xarja*-s reflect the shift from the predominance of Romance in the early period to a predominance of Arabic in the 12th and 13th century?

If at least some of these answers are affirmative, we can sustain that these *xarja*-s are indeed reliable sources for reconstructing the linguistic situation of al-Andalus.

27 As we can read in Sanchis Guarnier: "Más antiguas, más puramente románicas y genuinamente hispanas, son las jaryas insertas en las muwaššahs descubiertas recientemente, ciertas cancioncillas mozárabes de los siglos XI, y XII, es decir, anteriores a toda tradición literaria hispánica, cuya aparición ha sido una de las principales novedades de la Filología europea en el siglo actual" (1967:I:299).

28 "Después de descubiertas las «jarchas» romances de las moaxajas y de sorprendidas ciertas intimidades literarias de la época, hoy empezamos a entrever con claridad la importancia que tenía el bilingüismo en la España musulmana y la esfera reducida a la que, dentro del país, se hallaba confinado el árabe puro" (García Gómez 1985:33-34).

2 The origins of the Hispano-Arabic *muwaššah* and the *zajal*¹

2.1 *Qaṣīd*

Theories on the origin of Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry are sharply divided. In the last centuries, various hypotheses about the origins have been postulated. In this chapter I shall describe the intra-Arabic theory which explains the Hispano-Arabic poems as a development from the *qaṣīd* to the *musammaʿ* and the *muwaššah*. The intra-Arabic theory has been initiated by Hartmann (1897) who explained the origins of the Andalusian strophic poetry as a direct continuation of the *tasmīʿ* phenomenon in classical and neo-classical poetry. Other scholars prefer to explain the Andalusian strophic forms from extra-Arabic, Occidental or Iberian, lyric tradition. The discussion about the intra-Arabic origins is also called the *tasmīʿ*-debate. Chronologically, the *tasmīʿ*-theory has the strongest arguments, since other theories are based on material from later periods. The extra-Arabic theories will be dealt with later in chapter 6.

The *qaṣīd* is the oldest form of Arabic literary poetry and usually the term is translated as 'ode'.² The earliest *qaṣīd* go back to the preislamic period (*jāhiliyya*). The number of lines of a *qaṣīda* can run up to hundred and the lines can be relatively long. The prosody which rules these poems is based on the quantity of the syllables. The Arabic lexicographer and grammarian al-Xalīl b. Aḥmad from Baṣra (died 780) codified and established a system of 15 metres and any form of posterior classical-Arabic poetry follows his principles (see chapter 7). The line of a *qaṣīd* is called *bayt* and is normally cut into two hemistichs, separated by a caesura, except in the case of the meter *rajaz*. The line is a syntactic and semantic unit and the occurrence of enjambment is a later invention.³ The final consonants of all the second hemistichs are determined and governed by one rhyme-consonant, except the opening line of the *qaṣīd* where also the first hemistich has the same rhyme as the second (internal rhyme). Since the Arabic poetical language is inflected and words are constructed according to fixed patterns, this language is suitable for monorhyme-based poetry.

1 This chapter is an elaborated version of my article in Dutch: Zwartjes (1992). I use the term *qaṣīd* as a generic term and the feminine form *qaṣīda* (*nomen unitatis*) speaking about one concrete poem. I use also the masculine forms *muwaššah* and *musammaʿ*, speaking about the generic noun, and the *nomina unitatis* *muwaššahā* and *musammaʿa* when I consider one specific poem.

2 Data from Bloch (1948), Lichtenstadter (1990), Jacobī (1971 and 1990).

3 See for this phenomenon van Gelder (1982a).

2.2 The *musammat*

2.2.1 The Arabic *musammat*

In the period of the 'modern school' of poets of the 'Abbāsīd period (*muhdaṭūn*) in particular, poets began to experiment with strophic poetry 'avant la lettre', which were to be imitated in other regions of the Islamic world. The relatively long lines of the classical *qasīd* were split up into several segments with internal rhyme (as has been said before, internal rhyme in the classical *qasīd* only occurs in the opening line and can be found sporadically at other places than the first line). The so-called *muzdawij* was probably the first stage in the further development of the internal rhymes of the classical *qasīd*.⁴ The *muzdawij* is a poem where repeatedly two hemistichs rhyme (rhyme-scheme: *aa bb cc* etc.) and exceptionally we find three segments (*aaa bbb ccc* etc.), especially employed in didactic poetry. The *muzdawij* is comparable to the Latin *sequentia* (sequence) because it has the same progressive repetition.⁵ The next stage was probably an extension of this principle, the so-called *muxammasa* with the rhyme-scheme *aaaaa bbbbbb ccccc* etc. (without common rhyme). The next element introduced by the poets was the common rhyme, which generated the *musammat*.⁶ The most uncomplicated form of this sort of poem is the *musammat murabba'* which has a subdivision of the line in four segments with the rhyme-scheme *aaa a/ bbb a/ ccc a* etc., an independent changing rhyme and the last segment with common rhyme. This phenomenon is called *tasmīṭ* and such a poem is called *musammat*, derived from the substantive *simt*, that means 'string', 'cord' or 'girdle'. The lines are 'knotted' together as a string and the rhyme can be extended. There exist poems of the type *musammat murabba'* (*aaa b/ ccc/ b/* etc.), or the *musammat muxammas* (*aaaa a/ bbbb a/cccc a*) and in Persia in particular this can rise to ten segments (*musammat mu'aššar*). According to Ibn Xaldūn, this type of poetry was widely in use among the Arabs and was originated by poets of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage (*muwallad*) (Rosenthal 1967.III.414).

Abū Nuwās⁷ employed in some of his poems two lines at the beginning of the composition with common rhyme that is repeated in the other lines with common rhyme. Such an opening strophe could be called a *matla'* 'avant la lettre' (the *matla'* is the opening strophe with common rhyme of the *muwaššah* or the *zajal*. This strophe probably had the function of a refrain; see *infra*).

4 Schoeler (1990 440-464)

5 A difference between the *muzdawij* and the Latin *sequentia* is that the Arabic form reproduces the same metrical pattern while in the Latin form a different metrical pattern and even a different melody is introduced (Stevens 1986 510)

6 Other terms are *qasida musammata* or *qasida simtiyya* (Schoeler 1993a 661)

7 Al-Hasan b. Hānī' al-Hakamī Abū Nuwās is a famous Arabic poet of the 'Abbāsīd period and a representative of the *muhdaṭūn*. He was born in al-Ahwāz between 747 and 762 and died in Baghdad between 813 and 815

These poems can always be reproduced or written as a *qaṣīd*, with the strophe written on one line - the 'girdle' rhyme is represented in the monorhyme of the *qaṣīd*, which 'knots the poem together' - or can be represented as a strophic composition (every segment written as a new line). The hey-day of these strophic poems 'avant la lettre' is the 10th century. According to Schoeler (1990) the poets prefer the *musammaṭ murabbaʿ* without an opening strophe. This type of poetry is usually considered to be non-classical and the collectors of poetry normally exclude such poems from their anthologies. Seldom we see the phenomenon 'refrain'. Schoeler only gives two examples, from the poet al-Buraʿi, which have the rhyme-scheme *aaa A' / bbba A' / ccca A'* etc.

In Persia and in al-Andalus, we see an analogous evolution of strophic poetry. To what extent the new experiments of the *muzdawij* and the *musammaṭ* in Arabic poetry from the ʿAbbāsīd era were borrowed from Persian poetry is still subject to debate.⁸ Von Grunebaum states that it is likely that the *muzdawij*-poems with alternating rhyme find their origin in Persian literature and the Arabs borrowed this type of poetry in the 8th century, whereas Schoeler (EI) states that the *musammaṭ* is the name of an originally Arabic stanzaic form of poetry. *It is also an established fact that the oldest Persian musammaṭ* is contemporary with the oldest recorded Andalusian *muwašṣaḥ*, which will be described later. They can be found in the *Dīwān* of Manōčihri, who died in 1041 (Monroe 1989:22). All *musammaṭāt* of this poet are from the *musaddas*-type (bbbbba, ccccca etc.). Later, all variations of the *musammaṭ* are recorded (Browne 1906:42; de Bruijn 1978:58; Garcin de Tassy 1873:375), but Persian contemporary *muwašṣaḥāt* are not known. The common rhyme is continued in the refrain where also internal rhyme can be applied. It must be observed that these refrain-poems do not have a *maṭlaʿ*. Another type is a variation of the *tarjīʿ-band*, the *tarkīb-band*. The difference is located in the transition to the final passage, the so-called *ḡurīzḡāh*. The refrain that follows after the *ḡurīzḡāh* is the 'return' to the main theme of the *tarjīʿ-band*. If this is not the case (i.e. when the *ḡurīzḡāh* is absent), the poem is called a *tarkīb-band*.⁹

2.2.2 The Hebrew *musammaṭ*

As Stern pointed out (1974:50-51), the Hispano-Hebrew poets employed the *musammaṭ*, almost to the exclusion of other types of poetry during the 10th century. In this early period, *muwašṣaḥāt* are not handed down yet. Dūnāš ha-Lēbī b. Labrāṭ and M^enaḥēm b. Sārūq treated this form as a 'new

⁸ See Grunebaum (1944:12).

⁹ Here I reproduce the description of van Gelder. According to de Bruijn (1978:57) the *ḡurīzḡāh*, *maxlaṣ* or *taxalluṣ* are all technical terms for the passage where the poet turns from the prologue to the panegyric, although the term *taxalluṣ* is used later for the poet's *nom de guerre* in the final line (*maqṭaʿ*) of the *qaṣīda* (see also Browne 1906:30 and 73).

art of versification'. According to Stern, "in the following generations this preponderance disappears; yet the *musammaʿ* never failed to enjoy an important position in Hebrew poetry". Stern affirms that the *musammaʿ* must have been much more frequently used than "documentary evidence would have allowed us to suspect". It seems to me very unlikely that Hebrew poets imitated an Arabic genre if this were not current in contemporary Arabic poetry as well. However, it is not impossible that a rare metrical form borrowed from Arabic poetry was adopted in Hebrew poetry and this particular form began to enjoy a wider diffusion and greater success than its Arabic congeners. Another possibility, which seems plausible to me, is that the Arabic *musammaʿ* was also widely diffused without being recorded in the anthologies. Hebrew poets were probably less constrained by the strict norms of Arabic prosody. Hebrew strophic poetry already existed many centuries before the oldest extant Arabic poetry, and the introduction of Arabic metre was considered to be an exogenous model in Hebrew poetry, because it distorted the language (see chapter 7). It is understandable that innovations, such as the *musammaʿ*, infiltrated easily in Hebrew poetry in an early stage. What happened with the *musammaʿ* in the 10th century happened with the *muwaššah* in the 11th century. It is well known, that the majority of the oldest Romance *xarja*-s is found in Hebrew poems. From the point of view of comparative literary studies, it is remarkable that an equivalent of the *musammaʿ* should appear in the lyrics of the oldest troubadours William of Aquitaine (died in 1127), Marcabrun and Cercamon (Schoeler (1993a:661)).

2.3 From *musammaʿ* to the Andalusian *tawšīḥ* poetry.

2.3.1 The Arabic *muwaššah*

In this paragraph I intend to describe the *muwaššah*. Before the analysis, I shall first give an example of a *muwaššah* of al-Kumayt al-Ġarbī, who lived in Badajoz and composed his poem for Mustāʿīn of Saragossa (11th century; text and translation from García Gómez 1975 :n° XIII: 165-169; Arabic text: Jones 1992: 270-1, n°178):

0. *Lī ʿadmuʿun tastahillu*

muḍ ṣaḥīṭa l-xillu.

1. Li-llāhi ʿaškū l-ġadāta,
 Lam tabqa lī bi-l-bukāʿi
 Yā nāqīḍan li-l-ʿuhūdī!,
 Ilā matā tastahillu
2. Taʿsan li-ṣarfi z-zamāni
 Lam yabqaw lī ṣāḥibun ma-
 Wa-ʿasḥaḥtu fī maʿšarin
 waṣlu-humū muḍmaḥallu,

mā ṣanaʿa l-baynu!
baʿda-humū ʿaynu.
hal yajmulu l-maynu?
mā laisa yaḥillu?

min ḥakamin yajfū,
waddatu-hu taṣfū!
qulūbu-hum ġulfu,
wa-wuddu-hum ġillu.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>3. Hā 'ana baina l-ḥayāti
Qad 'alima l-'ālimūna
Man liya bi-katmi l-hawā,
<i>In kāna xatbī yajillu,</i></p> | <p>wa-l-mauti mawqūfu.
anniya mašgūfu.
wa-sirrī ma'rūfu?
<i>fa-ṣ-ṣabru 'ajallu.</i></p> |
| <p>4. Yā qamaran ṭālī'an
Law-lā-ka, lam adri 'an ḥi-
Adnayta jismiya hawā",
<i>Dāka l-'idāru l-muṭillu</i></p> | <p>'alā ḡuṣunin zāhī!
yāḍi r-radā mā hī.
fa-qul lī, bi-llāhi;
<i>ḡa-ṣawlawjun am ṣillu?</i></p> |
| <p>5. Lammā jafā-nī l-ḥabību,
wa-lam uṭiq katma-hu ḥi-
šadawtu-hu mu'linan ka-
<i>NON KERO, NON, UN XILLELLO</i></p> | <p>hasbiya bi-t-tīhi,
ḡara r-radā fi-hi,
xawdin tuḡannī-hi:
<i>ILLA S-SAMARELLO.</i></p> |

Translation by García Gómez:

0. *Desde que se fue el que quiero, lloro sin consuelo.*
1. Quéjome a Dios de la aurora que esta ausencia trajo. Pues que partiste, mis ojos me ha borrado el llanto. ¿Está bien, tú que no cumples, ser así falsario? *¿Hasta cuándo lo que es feo vas a dar por bueno?*
2. ¿Es mi sino, por desgracia, tirano ceñudo que no me consiente amigo cuyo amor sea puro! Vivo entre gentes que tienen corazones duros, *que dan amor insincero, y odio por afecto.*
3. Héme aquí entre vida y muerte triste e indeciso. No hay nadie que pueda verme sino enloquecido. ¿Cómo he de ocultar pesares de todos sabidos? *¿Pero a desgracia de hierro, paciencia de acero!*
4. ¿Oh, sobre ramo brillante, tú, naciente luna! Si no es por ti, no sabría que la muerte apura. De amor se me funde el cuerpo. Sácame de dudas: *¿Es un áspid ese vello, o un mazo de juego?*
5. Cuando el amigo me aflige con su altanería, no pudiendo contenerme porque moriría, canto de amor cual la moza que por él suspira: *«No quiero, no, un amiguito / más que el morenito».*

This *muwassaha* has an introductory strophe (*maṭla'*), a prelude, with the rhyme scheme *aa*, so that the poem is called *tāmm* (complete). The rhyme scheme *aa*, the common rhyme, is repeated after each strophe. Each strophe consists of a section with independent rhyme. Here we find in the first strophe the scheme *xbyzbz*, and symmetrically in the following ones *xcyczcaa*, *xdydzdaa*, *xeyezeaa* and so on. Every independent part of each strophe is always symmetrical. The fifth one closes with a *xarja* in Romance, in this case a love-song. The *xarja* repeats the rhyme scheme of the introductory strophe (*aa*), as all the other sections with common rhyme do. The poem deviates from the traditional *qaṣīd*, not only thematically, but also because its structure is strophic, and not monorhymed. Thematically the poem does not deviate from the traditional *ḡazal* poem. Linguistically, the use of Romance is also innovative. Every second line of the six lines with independent rhyme in each strophe has monorhyme. According to the

Arabic theoreticians, this type of poetry had been invented in al-Andalus. The varying length of the lines with common rhyme and independent rhyme bear resemblance to a sash, (Ar. *wiṣāḥ*, or *wuṣāḥ*). This sash could be ornamented and embellished with precious stones, or embroidered. The term *muwaṣṣaḥ* is derived from this substantive and means 'embellished'. This term can be related also to the image of a circle. The sash is worn by women from one shoulder to the opposite hip. The lines with common rhyme surround the composition as a girdle. The image of the circle can also be connected to a string, or a series of poems that constitute together a 'cycle', or a 'suite'. Lakhdar (1971:183), quoting 'A. Ġannūn's *Nubūġ*,¹⁰ gives us the following definition:

Au point de vue lexicographique, le mot *tawṣīḥ* dérive de *wiṣāḥ*. Il est spécifié dans *al-Anwār* [written by al-Šarīsī]: le *wiṣāḥ* est une amulette de perles et de pierres précieuses, formée de deux rangées, que la femme passe à son cou en guise de collier et qui se croisent sur sa poitrine et entre les deux épaules, comme deux baudriers. De là vient le mot *tawṣīḥ*, employé dans le *ḥadīṭ*, et qui veut dire: nouer les deux manches du vêtement d'un homme autour du cou, à hauteur de l'aiselle. Chez les rhétoriciens, le genre *tawṣīḥ*, dont l'inventeur est Muqaddam consiste à ce que le commencement des paroles désigne un mot, d'où son nom, car le sens [de ce mot] y remplace le *wiṣāḥ* et le début et la fin des paroles y remplacent l'épaule et la poitrine entre lesquelles s'étend le *wiṣāḥ*.¹¹

Recently, Abu Haidar criticized this generally accepted etymology of the word *muwaṣṣaḥ*, stating that it is "highly unlikely that such a term could have derived from the *wiṣāḥ*, as has often been maintained. One would then have expected the relative adjective *wiṣāḥī*, and consequently *qaṣīda* or *qaṣā'id wiṣāḥiyya*" (Abu Haidar 1992:64). Abu Haidar prefers to translate the term as 'ornate', or 'embellished' with rhyme, according to the development in the *maqāmāt* in Muslim Spain.¹²

10 *Nubūġ*, II, p. 296.

11 A similar definition can be found in Mehren (1853:175-6) He took his information from a Turkish *Qāmūs* "*Tawṣīḥ* kommt her von *wiṣāḥ*, ein schafflederner, breiter, reich verzierter Gurt, den die Weiber wie eine Scharpe oder ein Wehrgehänge über die Schulter um Brust und Rücken geschlungen tragen eine Verwandtschaft des Sinnes umschliesst nämlich, wie ein solcher Gurt die Brust und den Rücken, den Anfang und das Ende der Rede." See also Bargebuhr (1976:285) about the function and meaning of the word 'girdle'.

12 I use the term *tawṣīḥ*-poetry as a generic term for both *muwaṣṣaḥ* and *zajal*. Ulf Haxen (1978 114 n 5, 1982:474) prefers the term *wiṣāḥ*-poetry as a synonym for strophic poetry, which does not seem correct. It is not sure, as Abu Haidar demonstrates, that the term refers literally to the "sash". It should be taken into account that the *muwaṣṣaḥ* means 'embellished', and *tawṣīḥ* is the process of embellishing which can be used as a generic term.

One must also bear in mind that the term *tawṣīḥ* is also a technical term for a rhetorical figure which has two basic meanings. The first is “the harmony (*i’tilāf*) between the rhyme-syllable and the meaning of the rest of the line”. According to Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (died after 932), the author of the *Naqd al-šīʿr* (Critique of Poetry), *tawṣīḥ* occurs when “the beginning of the line testifies to its rhyme-syllable and the meaning of the latter is attached to the former in such a way that anyone who knows the rhyme-syllable of the poem to which the verse belongs knows its end as soon as he hears the beginning of the verse” (Scheindlin 1974:32). Smart interpreted this term as an idea of “beginning hinting at or suggesting an end” (1991a:106), which is also suitable in the poetical context. Although apparently the term *tawṣīḥ* has another meaning here, some correspondences are striking if we compare this definition to what Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk tells us. A poet has to invent the end of the *muwašṣaḥ* first, and from there he constructs the rest of the poem. By introducing a good opening strophe, the *maṭlaʿ*, the audience probably knew how the poem could end by the rhyming scheme, and as we can see in some *azjāl* a poem can have the same *maṭlaʿ* as the *xarja*. The parallel is striking and it seems not impossible that the term *tawṣīḥ* must be explained in this way.

2.3.2 The Hebrew *muwašṣaḥ*

Almost simultaneously with the apogee of Andalusian strophic poetry, the greatest Hispano-Hebrew poets started to imitate Arabic *muwašṣaḥāt*. Mošeh b. ʿEzrā, for example, imitated a *muwašṣaḥ* of al-Abyaḍ, Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī poems of al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī and Aḇrāhām b. ʿEzrā poems by Ibn Bāqī (Stern 1974:48). The Hispano-Hebrew poets used this new genre for both religious and secular poetry. Some of the secular compositions have *xarja*-s in colloquial Arabic or in Romance or in a mixture of the two languages. The use of the colloquial or Romance is usually omitted in the religious poems because such a register would not be in accordance with the sacred language, Hebrew. Below I give an example of a *muwašṣaḥ* by Yʿhūdā ha-Lēbī with a Romance *xarja* (Brody I:157-8):

rāʾšey ʿām ʿēt hiṭʿassep	umʿlākīm bʿsōdām
kullāham hōdū lʿyōsēp	kī hūʿ ʿēyn kʿbōdām
limšol bʿyaḍ ʿlōaḥ kosēp	wʿken mošel bʿādām
hemdaṭ ʾiṣ ʾāšer kol yaggīd	ʾahaṭ hīʾ ūbārāh
mišrāh mūkānāh lʿnāgīd	hīʾ lišbī ʿāšārāh:
kol-hemdat ʿnōš ʾim yāqʿrāh	tēbēl ʿim mʿlōʾāh
ʾāmartī hʾkī hīʾāmʿrāh	ʿinyānāh nʿsiʾāh
yōsēp šūr lʿšibto yʿšārāh	loʾ tohū bʿrāʾāh
bō nāqel ʿabṭīṭ maḵbīd	kī gābar wʿšārāh
ubʿmiḡdal hāʿoz heʿmīd	ʿim nūsō ʿāšārāh:

bēn porāt b^eētān qaštāk
 ūb yāmīm h^alo'mē'ittāk
 'att šemeš ūmāṭār nittāk
 zar^eḥu bāk m^e'ōrēy tamīd
 'al-'āreš, w^eḡam hī' taⁱd

ma-zeh šūm h^amōn 'ām niqleh
 'ad hūsar sillōn 'ōleh
 liṭnēy bō' y^eqār 'ēl mālē'
 kī sa'^oḡō sārīm heḥrīd
 sāmāhū'elohāyw yāḥīd

šaṭ^epū nah^alēy haššāmen
 bibsorōt g^ebīr hā'omēn
 y^eḥi haššār 'imrū 'āmēn

DES KAND MOSEDILO BENID
 KOM DA'YO DEŠOL 'EŠID

ma^{cā}šeykā b^ekišrōn
 ūl^ekā ḥidd^ešū ron
 'ak mēhen b^eyitrōn
 wattōpā^c n^ehārāh
 kī bāk ne^{cā}zārāh:

'al- hazz^emān ḥ^amāsāyw
 niśrāp b^eēšh^amāsāyw
 'omēd bēyn h^adassāyw
 w^eqāla^c bašš^eārāh
 mīḥsar 'oz b^ešārāh:

naḥal hā'^abānīm
 'am 'ēl ba^{cā}dānīm
 wayyis'ū r^enānīm:

TAN BONA 'ALBEŠARA
 'EN WA'D ALḤAGARA

Translation:

When the chiefs of the people meet/ with kings in their council// All of them praise Joseph/ for he is the fount of their glory// To rule by the hand of God he aspires/ and thus he rules over men// *The choicest man whose every utterance/ is clear and pure// The high dignity suited for the ruler/ is a crown of beauty//.*

Were it to exceed all human treasure/ the world and its fullness// Yet I heard her say that/ her chief desire is her Prince// As a throne for Joseph God fashioned her/ not for naught did He create her.// *Through him the heavy burden was lightened/ for he overcame and ruled// And in the tower of strength he established/ with his ten who fled.//*

Ben Porat with your bow kept taut/ your deeds excel// The goodness of the days is from you/ and for you they broke into fresh song// You are the sun and the falling rain/ yet greater are you than they? *Ever burning lights shone out through you/ and radiance broke forth// Upon the earth; she too will testify/ that she was helped by you.//*

What is that multitude of abused people/ heaping blame upon their fate// Before the swelling thorn was plucked out/ burning in consuming fire// Before the coming of the worthy God inspired man/ standing among his myrtles// *For his roar frightened princes/ he hit in the eye of the target// His God appointed him a leader/ a fortress of strength in time of distress.//*

Rivers of oil overflowed/ the river of stones// With good tidings announcing the lord who nurtures/ God's people with delights// Long live the Prince: say ye "Amen"/ and they raised their voices singing/ *As soon as my lord comes/ such a good tiding// Flashes out like a ray of the sun/ in Guadalajara.//* (Translation from Salomon 1978:23-25)

2.3.3 The *zajal*

The *zajal* (lit. '[loud] voice') resembles the *muwašṣaḥ*. The difference is that in the *muwašṣaḥ* sometimes the introductory strophe (*maṭla*^c) may be missing, whereas the *zajal* always has this prelude. Each strophe of the *zajal* is exactly symmetrical, just as the strophes of the *muwašṣaḥ*, although there is a difference between a strophe of a *zajal* and one of a *muwašṣaḥ*. Both *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ* have symmetrical strophes which can be divided into two sections. One tripartite section with monorhymed lines with independent rhyme (variable in each strophe) and one section with common rhyme (invariable rhyme scheme in all strophes). The second section of each strophe of the *muwašṣaḥ* with common rhyme has normally a repetition of the full rhyme scheme of the lines with common rhyme. In the *zajal* the poet only repeats a part of the rhyme-scheme of the section with common rhyme. Only the opening strophe of the *zajal*, which is called *maṭla*^c has the full common rhyme scheme. Another difference is that the *muwašṣaḥ* always has a *xarja* and the *zajal* not necessarily. Since the *xarja* repeats the rhyme scheme of the *maṭla*^c, the *xarja*-s from the *zajal* differ from those of the *muwašṣaḥ*: the *xarja*-s of the *muwašṣaḥ* have the entire rhyme-scheme of all lines with common rhyme, whereas the *xarja*-s of the *zajal* only repeat a part of the common rhyme-scheme. Exceptionally, we see a *xarja* with the full rhyme scheme of the lines with common rhyme, as the *zajal* n° XXII of Ibn al-ʿArabī with the structure *aabbba* and the sixth and last strophe (with *xarja*) shows the structure *bbbaa* (Corriente 1986c:23; Stern 1974:54).¹³ The *muwašṣaḥ* closes with lines where the use of non-classical phrases is allowed. In the *zajal* the use of colloquial speech is allowed throughout the entire poem. The *xarja* of a *muwašṣaḥ* has the function of entertainment, used to contrast with the 'serious' conventional style of the rest of the *muwašṣaḥ*, written in inflected language.

The fact that a *zajal* in most cases does not have a *xarja* can be explained in the following way: being entirely in the 'light' genre, such an opposition was not needed, so there was no place for a *xarja* (Abu Haidar 1978:1). In chapter 9 on 'stylistic features', I shall discuss the opposition between *xarja* and *muwašṣaḥ* in more detail.¹⁴ Another difference between the two forms is the length. The *muwašṣaḥ* has normally five strophes, with few exceptions, whereas the number of strophes of the *zajal*, not taking in consideration the *muwašṣaḥ*-like *zajal* (see 2.3.5.), shows more variation. In the *dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān we see *azjāl* of 40 strophes or more. The shortest strophe of a *zajal* which are documented can be found in the collection

13 Cf. al-Šuštārī, n°18 which has one line in the prelude (*maṭla*^c) and two lines in the lines with common rhyme (rhyme scheme: *A bbb aA*) (Corriente 1982-1983:44).

14 In the serious mystical *muwašṣaḥāt* and *azjāl* by al-Šuštārī, such an appended *xarja* in the 'light genre' is omitted too, as Abu Haidar demonstrated. The same happens in religious Hebrew compositions (cf. 3.3.2).

Al-‘Aṭīl with only two or three lines.¹⁵ The boundaries between the two closely related forms are not always easy to draw, and it must be noticed that the technical terms for the different sections of the *muwašṣaḥ* used by the theoreticians are far from unequivocal. Already in medieval times, the two sister forms are confused. Ibn Quzmān (see 4.1.5.) uses the term *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ* without making a clear distinction between them. The confusion of the two forms also generated hybrid forms with which we shall deal in the following paragraph.

The following example gives the first two strophes and the final strophe of a *zajal* written by Ibn Quzmān (Corriente 1980:nº38: 259-275 and 1989:99-104):

0. *Miṭl abān tašufīn yuqállu ‘amír, walxiláfa min bá‘du ‘ádat tasír.*
 1. *báarak alláh fi ‘áhlu ḍa l’ayyám!
taji ‘a‘wám idá maḍát ‘a‘wám
waja‘álhum saláṭin al’islám,
wanašárhū kamá hu ní‘ma nnašír.*
 2. *ya‘jabúni balḥáqqi šáyyan ‘ajíb,
waṭanáhum fi fúṃmi kúlli xaṭīb.
wa ‘ana yáḍḍa f-almawádda raġīb,
wanaḥíbb alladī naḥíbbu kaṭír.*
- [...]
40. *dúṃta masrúr, mubállag al’amál,
watara jáh wa‘ízzi fi ‘iqbál
ma staḥál azzalám waláḥ alhilál
wama qalsán faqíh wa ‘ammám wazír.*

Translation:

0. *A quien es como Ibn Tāšufīn se debe llamar emir: tras él el califato ha vuelto a existir.*
 1. *¡Bendiga Dios a su gente estos días! Vengan años, pasados algunos, en que Él los haga sultanes del islam, ayudándoles, pues Él es excelente ayudador.*
 2. *Me agrada, en verdad, sobremanera, su elogio está en boca de todo orador, y yo también con ahínco amo, y mucho quiero a quien quiero.*
- [...]

¹⁵ See Corriente (1994:86-87): /zam/ zám/ ḥar/rár /dar/hám. This strophe has the full *zajal* rhyme scheme aa bbba; another example is /ša‘/šá‘/ min/dán/ an/fá‘ (Hoenerbach Arabic text:1956:28).

40. Que sigas alegre, tu anhelo logrado, viendo poder y gloria llegarse a ti, mientras cesen tinieblas al brillar la luna, *lleve el alfaquí bonete y turbante el visir*.

This poem is dedicated to Abū Jaʿfar b. Ḥamdīn. The poet wishes him good luck in his efforts to get the job of *qāḍī* at the court of the Almoravids (Corriente 1989:285). This *zajal* is much longer (40 strophes) than the *muwašṣaḥ* and it has a *maṭlaʿ* with the rhyme scheme *aa*. Each strophe consists of two sections: the first three lines with independent rhyme and rhyming with each other, followed by a fourth line which repeats only a part of the rhyme of the *maṭlaʿ* (*aa bbba ccca ddda* etc.). The final strophe lacks a *xarja*.

2.3.4 The *muzannam*

According to the *Al-ʿAṭīl al Ḥālī* of al-Ḥillī (see chapter 3), the distinction between *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ* is based on linguistic criteria. In the former type of composition, inflection (*iʿrāb*) must be avoided but the latter must be written in fully inflected literary Arabic, except for the final section, called the *xarja*, which can be written in colloquial speech (*malḥūn*, containing elements of *laḥn*). Al-Ḥillī describes a hybrid form, which developed through a process of *taznīm*. This term refers to the *muzannam*; the insertion of colloquial diction (*laḥn*) into the *muwašṣaḥ*, or to put it in other words: the contamination of the classical language using non-classical elements.¹⁶ A *muzannam* can be a *muwašṣaḥa* with occasional omission of inflections or the inclusion of other colloquial elements (a *muwašṣaḥa* with *laḥn*), or a *zajal* with *iʿrāb*. An example of such a *muzannam* is the famous poem of the Taifa King of Seville, Ibn Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād.¹⁷ The colloquial element of the *xarja* is extended to all those lines which share the common rhyme of the *xarja*. The Hebrew poets also imitated this phenomenon, but in this period Hebrew did not have a colloquial variant, so the poets inserted non-classical elements in the rest of the poem, in the lines with common rhyme in particular. For example, in a *xarja* of Yʿhūdā ha-Lēbī we read “*bus bus bus bi-fammi*” (Brody I:192-3)¹⁸ and in all the other lines with common rhyme (‘*at*, ‘*at*, ‘*at*...; *man*, *man*, *man*...) (Sáenz-Badillos 1989:124). This is an indication that the *xarja* was conceived first; all the preceding lines with common rhyme show a clear symmetry with this *xarja*. Since in principle colloquial language is not permitted in a *muwašṣaḥ*, except in the *xarja*, not many *muzannammāt* have been handed

16 A clear distinction between non-classical elements and colloquial elements is very much needed. The poet could have composed his poem, while starting from the principle of ‘breaking rules for fun’ (cf. van Gelder 1982a), which is not the same as committing errors in an attempt to compose classical poetry. In the treatise of al-Ḥillī, most cases of non-Classical elements are explained as colloquialisms.

17 Gāzī (1979 I:199-201), Colin n°347 with Romance *xarja* n° XXVI, García Gómez (1975 179-185).

18 “Kiss, kiss, kiss me on my mouth”. See also Zwartjes (1994c:169-171).

down, but both poems, the one written by the King of Seville and the other by Y^chūdā ha-Lēbī, could represent this hybrid genre, where the lines with monorhymed independent lines in classical language can be alternated with colloquial lines which reproduce the rhyme scheme of the *maṭla^c*, possibly a love-song. However, in later collections, such as the *‘Aṭīl*, we see that the colloquial element is not only found in the lines with common rhyme; there is no regular alternation of a certain number of colloquial and classical lines,¹⁹ since the alternation between the two registers is used arbitrarily. I conclude that the *muzannam* is a hybrid form, showing particular features of both forms. The distinction between classical and non-classical is based on linguistic criteria. Another term which seems to be used for hybrid forms in poetry is ‘local versification’ (*‘arūḍ al-balad*), used by al-Maqqarī.²⁰ I could not find evidence for the hypothesis that the *muzannam* can be related to this category,²¹ but these types of versification are probably identical or closely related.

2.3.5 The *muwašṣaḥ*-like *zajal*

The hybrid form *muwašṣaḥ*-like *zajal* is linguistically a *zajal*, but structurally a *muwašṣaḥ*. This means that the full rhyme scheme of the *maṭla^c* is repeated and not only one section of it (Stern 1951: 382-385; 1974: 170; Monroe 1992:485).²² One third of the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān reproduces the full recurring rhyme scheme of the opening strophe, which is strictly a feature of the *muwašṣaḥ*, as García Gómez pointed out (1972:III:190-192).²³ The following poem, ‘The Ravens’, is an example of a *muwašṣaḥ*-like *zajal* (Gorton 1990:106-107; *zajal* n°147):

Dār al-ḥabīb muḍ bān
‘alā ḥabār ad-dār

mahdūma lil-qā^c
li-wuddi narja^c

raḥal ^can al-mawṭin man ḥān raḥīlu
wad-dār qā^can šafṣaf kaḍā faṣīlu
yarṭī fīh al-qumrī ^calā ṭibā^cu

man fāraq al-xullān
bal yandub al-āṭār

b-ay xair hu yaṭma^c
mawḍa^c fī mawḍa^c

19 A *muzannam* from the *al-‘Aṭīl*-collection is n° 89 by the poet Abū Bakr b. ‘Umayr al-Maḡribī (Corriente 1994:85). According to al-Ḥillī, the poet Ibn Gurla also composed *muzannamāt*.

20 *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* 1/832, *apud* Corriente (1994:83).

21 It would take us too far from our present subject, but more research is needed in order to determine more satisfactorily the *muzannam* and its code-switching patterns.

22 Another proof that the boundaries between *muwašṣaḥ* and *zajal* are not clear is the contradictory term *muwašṣaḥ malḥūn* used by Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk. It seems that this Egyptian meant the *zajal* (Hartmann 1897:97). Earlier, in 1877, Von Schack reached the same conclusion, saying: “Hacer una distinción entre estos dos géneros de composiciones es harto difícil, pues ambos tienen en toda su estructura gran semejanza entre sí” (Translation Valera 1988:250).

23 García Gómez talks here about the “zéjel simple o fundamental”. See also Beltrán (1984:244:n.26) and Le Gentil (1954:55-56).

qad ḥirtu fi bu^cdu wa-nqīṭā^cu
mass an-nujūm aqrab min irtijā^cu
tarā fih al-qumrī kamā ṭibā^cu

...yā ban quzmān
man dā(r) ^calā (d-diyār)

(las bi-)llah (yanfa^c)
billāhi (yū)ja^c

ayn dar aban... w-ayn iḥtifālu
w-ayn ḥawmat al-jāmi^c wa-ayn jamālu
ḥummil min al-makrūh fawq iḥtimālu

uqrub tarāh faddān
wal-bāqī istibbār

yuḥraṭ wa yuzra^c
lil-qāma yaqṭa^c

ka'anni lam naḥḍar dīk al-majālis
ma^c kulli mustaṭraf malīḥ muwānis
yā fiyya ḥusn az-zay min malābis

wan-naqra fil-^cīdān
wa ṣawlat al-mizmār

ya^cal wa yaṣna^c
min barra tusma^c

qad tāb aban quzmān ṭūbā lu in dam
qad kānat ayyāmu a^cyād fil-ayyām
ba^cd aṭ-ṭabal wad-duff wa fatl al-akmam

min ṣum^cat al-āḍān
imām fi masjid ṣār

yahḥuṭ wa yaṭla^c
yasjud wa yarka^c

ṣawt al-ḡurāb makrūh min ajli qubḥu
ma awṣaḥu miskān ma-qalla milḥu
dāyim narā ḥuznu matā hu farḥu

fa-l^canhum min ḡurbān
yā aswadan miṭyār

manṣar wa masma^c
kam dā tarawwa^c

Translation by Gorton:

*A hollow wasteland is his Dwelling, since my lover left;
Amid its faint traces, I am drawn to seek him there.*

As one whose time has come, he left this land,
His home, its graceful hall - a plain of desolation.
The mourning-dove laments him with its cooing:

*Whose lover leaves him
But only weeping*

*No hope retains;
Love's remains.*

Abandoned, far from him, I lie bewildered -
Sooner could I reach the stars than bring him back!
See the mourning-dove, as is his wont, saying:

*Oh Ban Quzmān
Stirring through ruins*

*You weep in vain:
Brings nought but pain.*

Where is Ibn...’s Lane, with its bustle?
Where the Mosque Quarter, and its beauty?
Laden it is with more spite than it can bear -

*Come close! you’ll see a
The rest infested*

*Field to plough and seed;
Head-high with weed.*

Those splendid parties - did I not attend them,
With so many refined, convivial beauties?
And me all robed in exquisite finery -

*Endlessly strumming,
Outside could be heard*

*Plucking of lutes;
Trilling of flutes.*

Aban Quzmān has reformed - bravo! (if it lasts);
His every day was a feast among days,
’Midst drums and tambourines and dancing sleeves rolled up;

*Now it’s to the minaret
Or genuflecting in his*

*Up and down,
Priestly gown.*

The raven’s ugly caw is loathsome;
How wretched he is, how devoid of beauty!
We only see his sadness - has he no hour of joy?

*A curse upon ravens’
Birds of dire omen,*

*Foul sound and sight:
Black as the night.*

2.3.6 The *qaṣīda zajaliyya*

The *qaṣīda zajaliyya* is also a hybrid form and according to al-Ḥillī, the seven greatest poets of the most important cities of al-Andalus Sevilla, Córdoba, Valencia and Málaga, where this form came into being, began to compose first this form, departing from the classical *qaṣīd*. According to the testimony of al-Ḥillī these forms are *qaṣā’id*, because they are mono-rhymed and they follow the rules of prosody. The only difference is the use of colloquial speech (with ‘*laḥn*’) in this type of poetry (Hoenerbach 1950:314; Arabic text 1956:17). The term *zajaliyya* apparently is used here as an equivalent for ‘containing *laḥn*’.

In the following chapter I shall give a survey of the most important medieval Arabic treatises which described these strophical forms from al-Andalus.

3 Medieval Arabic theory

3.1 Medieval Arabic theory of *tawṣīḥ* poetry

Introduction

Normally the great medieval anthologies of Arabic literature exclude the Andalusian strophic forms which were considered as non-classical. This explains the almost non-existence of contemporary anthologies and the relative scarcity of references to this type of poetry or to its composers. Al-Faṭḥ b. Xāqān, a literary historian and also a *kātib* of the Almoravid governor of Granada Abū Yūsuf Tāšufīn b. ʿAlī, wrote his book *Qalā'id* excluding the *muwašṣaḥāt* (Nykl 1946:223-227). The Maghribian chronicler ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAlī al-Tamīmī al-Marrākuṣī (1185-1249) admired the poet Ibn Zuhīr for his *muwašṣaḥāt* but apologised for not including them in his work, because it "was not customary to do so in sizeable respectable works".¹ The Hebrew author Mošeh b. ʿEzrā, too, confessed that in his youth he committed the sin of composing *muwašṣaḥāt*. These examples demonstrate that these strophic forms did not have a high literary prestige like the classical *qaṣīd*. The scarcity of contemporary *poeticae* from Iberian soil is not the only difficulty in reconstructing the exact literary position and development of the *muwašṣaḥāt* and *azjāl*. The texts which reveal some secrets of these non-classical poems are either very short and disappointing, or they have been written outside al-Andalus, and some of them many years later. The earliest source is Ibn Bassām who worked in al-Andalus (Santarem; 12th century). Other sources are Ibn Xaldūn from Tunisia (14th century), but continuing an older tradition, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk from Egypt (beginning of the 13th century) and Šafiyy al-Dīn al-Hillī from Iraq (14th century). Other sources are some poets such as Ibn Quzmān, Ibn ʿArabī and al-Šuštārī who give us useful information about Andalusian strophic poetry. These sources are not literary or historical treatises, but the poets mentioned and used all technical terms in their poems. As we shall see, the terminology is in most cases far from uniform and in many cases vague. At the end of this chapter I shall give a survey of the most important technical terms.

3.1.1 Ibn Bassām

Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Bassām al-Šantarīnī was born in Santarem during the rule of the Banū al-Aḥṡas in the Ṭaifa period. His literary activities are from the Almoravid period and he died in 1147. His aim was to show the Eastern

1 Al-Faṭḥ b. Xāqān lived in Seville and wrote his *Al-Muʿjib fī Talxīṣ axbār al-maḡrib* in Baghdad in the year 1234 (Editions: R. Dozy, Leiden, 1847, second edition 1881 with the title *The History of the Almohads*; M.S. Al-ʿUryān. Cairo, 1963, 146) quoted from Abu Haidar (1992:64:n.2 and 1993b:89, where we read that Ibn Xāqān died in 1134).

poets and scholars that al-Andalus could compete with them and that the West was not inferior to the East in composing classical Arabic Poetry. His book *Kitāb al-Daxīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-jazīra* ("The treasury of excellent qualities of the people of the Peninsula"), written between 1106 and 1109 is probably a continuation of the work *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī maḥāsīn ahl al-ʿaṣr* of the Oriental scholar al-Taʿālībī (961-1038), who also incorporated some Andalusian poets, such as Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, al-Ramādī and Ibn Darrāj. In the book of al-Taʿālībī, we find the statement that "Syrian poets exceeded all other poets in the Arabic language, in the past and in the present, because of their not being exposed to corruption (*fasād*) due to the influence of foreign languages, such as Persian in the ʿIrāq region" (Nykl 1946:219). Probably, this statement was a real challenge for the Andalusian author to demonstrate that Andalusian poets are equal. Ibn Bassām excluded poets of the Umayyad period, because he did not have the intention to duplicate the excellent work *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiq* by Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī.²

Ibn Bassām of Santarem is the only Arabic chronicler from Iberian soil who recorded this non-classical genre at a relatively early stage, but unfortunately he does not supply many details. Of course we cannot expect such information, because the aim is to compete with the East. If he used such 'exotic' material as Andalusian strophic poetry apparently was, this would not be adequate for a fair competition. It is evident that Ibn Bassām collected material with the highest prestige, and strophic poetry did not enjoy such esteem. The *Kitāb al-Daxīra* is not chronologically organized, but every chapter is dedicated to a certain region of al-Andalus, and the last chapter contains lines of praise of al-Andalus by individuals who came from foreign lands (Nykl 1946:222). In spite of his disdain for non-classical poetry, Ibn Bassām starts his book with a paragraph in which we can read some important observations about the possible historical evolution of Andalusian strophic poetry. According to him,³ the blind poet Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qabrī al-Ḍarīr invented the *muwašṣaḥ* some years before the end of the 9th century. From this early period, we have no surviving *muwašṣaḥāt*. Ibn Bassām tells us how the new poetical form came into being, but he does not give examples. This blind poet took non-Arabic phrases (*ʿajamī*)⁴ and called them *markaz* (lit. centre, 'basis', 'support')

2 This book is lost. Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī was a poet who worked during the rule of al-Hakam al-Mustansir. The aim of this book is comparable to that of the book of Ibn Bassām. Ibn Faraj competed with the *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Isfahānī which contains 100 chapters of 100 verses each. Ibn Faraj's work contained 200 chapters of 200 verses each (Nykl 1946 43-44).

3 See Stern (1974:64), Monroe (1985-1986 121-147).

4 The term *ʿajamī* is normally used for all non-Arabs (Bramon 1977:20). In Arabic historical works which deal with the Western part of the Islamic world, the word means more specifically 'Roman' or 'Christian'. It is used as a synonym for *rūmī* ('Roman') (Lewicki 1951-1952: 418-429). In the Eastern part, the term *ʿajamī* is used for all non-Arabic people, and it is also used particularly for the Persians. *Rūmī* is used specifically for the Byzantine Christians.

and built upon them the rest of the *muwašṣaḥa*. However, Ibn Bassām also mentions another possible inventor, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (died in 940),⁵ the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿIqd* (Rikābī 1949b:172). Then, as Ibn Bassām informs us, the Andalusian authors began to construct more elaborate rhyme schemes, using internal rhyme. The first poet who employed internal rhyme in the lines with common rhyme (*marākiz*) was Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī. Ibn ʿUbāda, a poet at the court of Abū Yaḥyā Muʿizz al-Dawla al-Muʿtaṣim of Almería (reigned from 1052 to 1091), followed the example of al-Ramādī and he was the first poet who divided the lines with independent rhyme (*aḡṣān*). The division, or ‘ramification’ of the lines of the first section of the strophe with the tripartite monorhymed section is called *taḍmīn*. The splitting up of the lines of the section of the strophe with common rhyme is called *taḍfīr*.⁶ We can deduce from the passage of Ibn Bassām that he used the following terms:

<i>ḡuṣn</i> ⁷	(pl. <i>aḡṣān</i>)	– Line with independent rhyme
<i>markaz</i>	(pl. <i>marākiz</i>)	– Line with common rhyme
<i>taḍmīn</i>		– Dividing a <i>ḡuṣn</i> into stichs ⁸
<i>taḍfīr</i>		– Dividing a <i>markaz</i> into stichs
<i>ṣaṭr</i>		– In Andalusian usage it probably means ‘line’ (Stern 1974:64).

The following schematization demonstrates the development of the *muwašṣaḥ*:

Inventor:	a bbb a
Ramādī:	(using <i>taḍmīn</i>)
aa bbb	(first stage)
abab cccabab	(second stage)

5 Hartmann informs us that this person should not be confused with a much later Egyptian, called Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Rabbihi who lived in the age of Ibn Sanaʿ al Mulk (Hartmann 1897:55, cf. Farmer 1942)

6 The exact meaning of the term *taḍfīr* is not certain, because this word is a *hapax legomenon*. Nykl (1956:532) proposed to emend the word in *tasḡīr* (‘shortening’). If we compare the *muwašṣaḥ* with the above mentioned Persian poems, we find that the main common feature is the use of internal rhyme. Monroe observed (1989:30 n.21) that the main difference between these Persian forms *tarjīʿ-band* and the *tarkīb-band* on the one hand, and the *muwašṣaḥ* on the other, is that the Persian forms lack an introductory strophe. They have a refrain after each strophe while the Hispano-Arabic strophic form has a refrain before the strophe that has to be repeated after each strophe. In this context we must add that in many *muwašṣaḥāt* the *maṭlaʿ* is also lacking, so this is obviously not the main difference. Monroe observed that the *tarkīb-band* has a section with common rhyme, which is lacking in the *tarjīʿ-band*. The latter has a *refrain* which is lacking in the *tarkīb-band*. The *muwašṣaḥ* can have both elements, except the compositions that are acephalous (‘bald’, Ar. *aqraʿ*), i.e. lacking the initial refrain-strophe

7 *ḡuṣn* means ‘twig’ or ‘branch’. The process of ramification is called *taḡṣīn* and is not exclusively used for poetry. For the process of ramification in rhymed prose, the term *taḡṣīn* is used by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Gafūr al-Kulāʿi in his *Iḥkam Sanʿat al-kalām* (ed. M. R. al-Dāya, Beirut (1966:141-144), apud Abu Haidar (1992:67:n.11).

8 According to Monroe (1985-1986:129ff) *taḍmīn* in the context of the fragment of Ibn Bassām means the application of internal rhyme in the *aḡṣān*. Other sources, such as al-Mawāʿinī (see below) do not distinguish between *taḍmīn* and *taḍfīr*.

‘Ubāda (using *taḍfīr*):

abab cdcdcdabab

(third stage)

In a recent study Jones (1993: 231-232) states that one *muwašṣaḥa* (n° 33) of the ‘*Uddat al-Jalīs* can be dated in the 10th century. There are two problems with such a statement, as Fierro observed (1994). In the first place Jones emends the name of the poet: Abū l-Qāsim b. al-‘Aṭṭār instead of Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Aṭṭār, who indeed lived in the 10th century (911/2-997). It might be true that ‘Ibn’ is omitted in other names but there is a second argument against this suggestion. The poem in question is a fully developed *muwašṣaḥa* with the rhyme-scheme *abcdec fgfgfgabcdec hihihabcdec...* (etc.). This means that the poet in the 10th century already used *taḍmīn* and *taḍfīr* ‘avant la lettre’, since Ibn Bassām tells us that the procedure of ramification is an 11th century development of the *muwašṣaḥa*, so that I do not think that a 10th century *muwašṣaḥa* is involved here.

3.1.2 Ibn Ḥijārī, Ibn Sa‘īd and Ibn Xaldūn

Walī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Hasan Ibn Xaldūn was a historian, sociologist and philosopher. He was born in Tunis in 1332 in an Arab family which came originally from the Ḥadramawt and had lived in al-Andalus since the beginning of the Muslim conquest. He died in 1382. His work *Al-Muqaddima* is another important source for *tawṣīṭh* poetry which is often quoted. Al-Ahwānī (1948) demonstrated that Ibn Xaldūn reproduced a fragment from Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maḡribī’s *Kitāb al-Muqataṭaf min azhār al-riyāḍ*.⁹ Ibn Sa‘īd mentions Ibn Ḥijārī as his source, which is lost, whereas Ibn Xaldūn does not mention his sources at all. In this chain of transmission we find deviations from the above mentioned text of Ibn Bassām. Ibn Sa‘īd tells us that al-Ḥijārī¹⁰ gives in his *Kitāb al-Mushib fī ḡarā’ib al-Maḡrib* another name of the inventor, namely Muqaddam b. Mu‘āfā al-Qabrī.¹¹ Stern (1974:65-66) observed that this is probably an error by al-Ḥijārī without informing us about his criteria. Ibn Xaldūn dedicated an extensive chapter in his *al-Muqaddima* to the Andalusian *muwašṣaḥāt* and *azjāl*. He starts with a definition of the genre, using technical terms which I shall discuss later. His survey is organized in chronological order, beginning with the inventor Muqaddam b. Mu‘āfā al-Qabrī. According to Ibn Xaldūn, Aḥmad

9 Abū l-Hasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mālīk b. Sa‘īd was an Andalusian poet, anthologist, historian and geographer, born near Granada in 1213. He died in Tunis in about 1286.

10 The *Kitāb al-Muḡrib fī hulā l-maḡrib* was begun in 1135 by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥijārī (‘el Guadalajareño’). ‘Alī b. Mūsā finished this work in 1243, while he was in Egypt under the title *Kitāb al-Mushib fī ḡarā’ib al-maḡrib*.

11 Al-Maqqarī (1580-1631) takes his information in his *Azhār al-Riyāḍ* (al-Muqataṭaf Cairo:1984 255) from Ibn Xātima’s *Kitāb Mazīyyāt al-Marīya* who for his part took his information, as did Ibn Sa‘īd, from *Al-Mushib* of al-Ḥijārī.

b. ʿAbd Rabbihi learned this type of poetry from Muqaddam. Immediately after these poets, the genre fell into desuetude until the days of the Taifa rulers. The first poet of importance is ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, who worked for the lord of Almería al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādih (Rosenthal 1967:III:441). The paragraph which follows is dedicated to the practice of composing *muwašṣaḥāt*, in particular during literary *tertulia*-like gatherings and shows how their lords were pleased by their poetry, beginning with the Taifa of Saragossa Ibn Tifalwīt, followed by the courts of the Almoravids (*Ṣinhāja* or ‘the veiled’) and the Almohads. We do not find many details concerning the structure of the *muwašṣaḥ* and the *zajal*. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to the style and register of *zajal* poetry and the evolution of this genre from the *muwašṣaḥ* and studies how this genre was to be continued in the Maghreb, where ‘local versification’ (Rosenthal 1967:III:466) contaminated the Andalusian models, and later in the East. Ibn Xaldūn gives first an impression of vernacular poetry in Baghdad, using Ṣafiyy al-Dīn al-Ḥillī as his main source and he remarks that the Egyptians followed the Baghdadis.

Terminology

In the chain of transmission from al-Ḥijārī to Ibn Xaldūn, we find another series of technical terms. For the strophe, Ibn Saʿīd uses the term *bayt*, which is also used for the line of the *qaṣīd*. The fact that Ibn Saʿīd uses this term demonstrates that there is a clearly felt relationship between this section of the *muwašṣaḥ* and the line in the classical *qaṣīd*.

The *muwashshaḥāt* consist of ‘branches’ (*ḡuṣn*) and ‘strings’ (*simṭ*) in great number and different metres. A certain number (of ‘branches’ and ‘strings’) is called verse (stanza). There must be the same number of rhymes in the ‘branches’ (of each stanza) and the same metre (for the ‘branches’ of the whole poem) throughout the whole poem. The largest number of stanzas employed is seven. Each stanza contains as many ‘branches’ as is consistent with purpose and method (Rosenthal 1967:III:440 ff).

Bayt is considered to be a syntactical, semantic and metrical unit and is divided into a section with independent rhyme, the *ḡuṣn*, and a section with common rhyme the *simṭ* (lit. ‘string’). The latter term reminds us the term *musammaṭ* (cf. chapter 2.2.).

3.1.3 Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk

The most complete description of the *muwašṣaḥ* and its *xarja* can be found in the *Dār al-Ṭirāz* of the Egyptian *connoisseur* Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. al-Qāḍī al-Raṣīd Abū l-Faḍl Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtamid Sanā’ al-Mulk, known as Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (1155-1212).¹² He was an *aficionado* of the Andalusian *muwašṣaḥ* and wrote a theoretical introduction to this ‘exotic’ form of poetry in order to make these poems more accessible to the Egyptian

public. In this he was very successful, because *tawšīḥ* poetry became popular in the *mašriq* as well.¹³ He was not only a *muwaššah* collector and theoretician; he included a series of *muwaššahāt* composed by himself. He also wrote classical *qaṣā'id*,¹⁴ gathered in a *dīwān*, which came down to us as well. It is evident that he was familiar with the best knowledge of the grammar and prosody of classical Arabic, because he had the advantage of having been educated by one of the most famous grammarians of his time in Cairo, ʿAbd Allāh b. Barri, known as Ibn Barri.¹⁵ Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk is often praised by contemporary authors for his "exquisite genius of the Arabic language" and admired for his skills in poetry and prose, not only in Egypt but also in Syria where he also composed some of his poems. In his days, there was no doubt that the Andalusian authors of *muwaššahāt* were superior to the Eastern poets. In the *Dār al-Ṭirāz fī 'amal al-muwaššahāt* he incorporated an anthology of Western poems and the last section of this book is a compilation of compositions by himself. We know from Ibn Xaldūn that the Eastern imitations are full of affectations, whereas the poems of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk enjoyed a high prestige. Some of his compositions were not only performed in the East but also in al-Andalus. The author foresaw that his introduction would have a widespread impact, because he states that his work is the first one of its kind. However, he admits that he never had the advantage to hear original Andalusian compositions in al-Andalus, nor did he have the opportunity to learn this tradition from Andalusian artists. It is very likely that these *muwaššahāt* are meant to be sung by women and men. In his own words:

the (wine)cups went round and round on its melody, while people tore their clothes (in ecstasy); it was recited with the modulation of voice by men and women, while the young and old sang it in sweet quavering tones; and it was considered worth presenting to a friend while it served the purpose of greetings among companions.¹⁶

Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk also informs us that his *muwaššahāt* are performed on the occasion of wedding parties. The *Dār al-Ṭirāz* is a theoretical introduction to this 'exotic' Andalusian strophical poetry for his readers and listeners in the East. The following chapter is a collection of Andalusian *muwaššahāt* and the final chapter contains poems which were composed by himself. The theoretical introduction gives us a detailed classification of subcategories of *muwaššahāt*. The following classification is used:

12 Hartmann (1897:47-55)

13 According to Ibn Xaldūn the *muwaššahāt* from the East are 'obviously forced' Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk is, however, an exception and his poems became famous in the East and in the West (Rosenthal 1967 III:454).

14 ʿAbdu l-Haqq (1975)

15 ʿAbdu l-Haqq (1975 10-13).

16 ʿAbdu l-Haqq (1975 50)

- 1 Classification according to form:
 - 1a Complete *muwaššahāt* (*tāmm*), or with introductory strophe with common rhyme
 - 1b Acephalous or 'bald' *muwaššahāt* (*aqra'*), or without introductory strophe
- 2 Classification according to metre:
 - 2a *Muwaššahāt* which are ruled by classical Arabic prosody
 - 2b *Muwaššahāt* which do not follow the strict classical metres
- 3 Classification according to internal structure of the lines:
 - 3a *Muwaššahāt* revealing a symmetry between *agṣān* and *asmāʾ*
 - 3b *Muwaššahāt* lacking such a symmetry (asymmetrical)
- 4 Classification according to complexity:
 - 4a *Muwaššahāt* with easily discernible schemes, where a prosodic analysis is not needed (majority)
 - 4b *Muwaššahāt* where a simple reading cannot distinguish the 'sane' from the 'ill' compositions
- 5 Classification according to musical practice:
 - 5a *Muwaššahāt* which can be easily used in a musical context
 - 5b *Muwaššahāt* which cannot be put to music without additional non-sense words, such as *lā, lā, lā*
- 6 Classification according to thematic features; this classification follows completely the current categories of classical Arabic poetry:¹⁷
 - 6a Erotic
 - 6b Panegyric
 - 6c Elegiac
 - 6d Satirical
 - 6e Ascetic

Terminology

In the definitions, we find a terminology that deviates from the above mentioned. We see the same term *bayt* which apparently does not mean 'strophe'. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk uses this term for the section of the strophe with independent rhyme, i.e. the *ḡuṣn* of Ibn Sa'īd (and Ibn Xaldūn), and a specific term for 'strophe' is missing. For *simṭ* Ibn Sanā' uses the term *qufl* (lit. 'chain', 'lock'). The *simṭ* is a string which threads the poem, the *qufl* links together the lines as a chain. Usually the *muwaššah* has five strophes, not counting the *maṭla'*, sometimes seven and seldom four or six. The last *qufl* (or *simṭ*) of the poem is called *xarja*, which means literally

¹⁷ In this chapter, only the terminology of the structure of Andalusian strophic poetry will be discussed. The classifications according to prosodical or thematic features will be discussed in the corresponding chapters (7 and 8).

'exit', a term which is missing in the description of Ibn Bassām. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk also informs us that each strophe must be completely symmetrical. A *muwašṣaḥ*, if it has five strophes, can be constructed with six *aqfāl*. In this case the poem is called *tāmm* ('complete'). The first *qufl* can also be missing and in this case the poem is called *aqra'* ('bald'), having five *aqfāl*. To complicate matters, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk also uses the terms *juz'* (pl. *ajzā'*) and *fiqra* (pl. *fiqar*). Stern informs us that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk calls the lines *fiqar* and their subdivisions *ajzā'* (Stern 1974:26), but Hartmann (1897:95-6) commenting on the same passage of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk states that a *bayt* (part of the strophe with independent rhyme) consists of lines, which he calls *ajzā'*, in most cases three, sometimes two or more than three (four or exceptionally five). Each line can be simple or composite. If each *juz'* is composite, the *bayt* can consist of three and a half *juz'*. The second part of the strophe with common rhyme, called *qufl*, is also composed by lines, also called *ajzā'*. The *ajzā'* of the *aqfāl* are indivisible, while the *ajzā'* of the *abyāt* can be simple or composite. The composite *juz'* consists normally of two, three and, exceptionally, of four hemistichs called *fiqra*.

It is remarkable that the affirmation of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk concerning the indivisibility of the *aqfāl* is in contradiction with what Ibn Bassām tells us. Monroe's interpretation of the terms *taḍmīn* (division of a *ḡuṣn* into stichs) and *taḍfīr* (division of a *markaz* into stichs) is not compatible with the theory of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk because here a divisibility of all lines is implied. If we leaf through any collection of *tawṣīḥ* poetry, we see clearly that all lines can be subdivided, i.e. *ajzā'* of lines of independent and common rhyme as well. The facts also permit us to conclude that the lines with common rhyme almost always have an equal number, or they have more subdivisions than the lines with independent rhyme, but never less. For example, we frequently see a *muwašṣaḥa* with *aqfāl* which have four hemistichs in each line and *abyāt* with lines with two hemistichs.¹⁸ As far as I know, the opposite (more subdivisions in the lines with independent rhyme than in the lines with common rhyme) is non-existent. The exact meaning of *fiqar* still remains unclear. According to Rikābī it is impossible to find an exact corresponding term. He translates it by "rhythmical entity with varying length and in most cases marked by one rhyme, or sometimes by prosodical accent". What the latter means exactly remains unclear (Rikābī 1949b:85: n.3).¹⁹

The last technical term of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk to be mentioned here is *dawr*. It seems to be equivalent to 'strophe'. The literal meaning is 'circle', or 'cycle', and it remains unclear whether or not it includes both parts of the

18 For example *Uddat al-Jalīs* (Jones 1992:n°144).

19 In this example Rikābī gives a *muwašṣaḥa* composed by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk and quoted in his *Dār al-Ṭirāz* and in another work *Fuṣūṣ al-Fuṣūl wa 'Uqūd al-'Uqūl* (Ms. Paris, n° 3333 from the 14th century).

strophe (with independent and with common rhyme). It is very likely that this term, like many others, has a musical background, meaning melodical and/or rhythmical cycle.

3.1.4 Šafiyy al-Dīn al-Ḥillī

The sister-form of the *muwaššah* is the *zajal*, which literally means 'voice' (*zajila* or *zajala* means, among other things, 'to sing', 'to raise one's voice', 'to speak loudly', 'to shout'). This term probably could be related to the musical practice of this particular strophic type of poetry. The term *zajal* is translated with the equivalent *cantilena* in the *Vocabulista in Arábico* (Corriente 1989c:135) and Pedro de Alcalá translated the word in his *Vocabulista arauigo en letra castellana* as *cantar, canción* (Corriente 1988c:85). It is not known who invented the *zajal*. The first texts are dated in the late 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. While the most complete medieval text for the *muwaššah* is the *Dār al-Ṭirāz* of the Egyptian Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, the oldest text which treats the *zajal* was written by the Iraqi Šafiyy al-Dīn al-Ḥillī.²⁰ The terminology used by al-Ḥillī deviates from the above mentioned. In his *poética*, al-Ḥillī uses the dichotomy between genres of poetry (*šī'r*) with inflection (*ī'rāb*)²¹ and genres without *ī'rāb*, i.e. containing *lahn* (Hoenerbach 1956:1; Fanjul 1976:40-43). This means that al-Ḥillī's distinction is based only on language use, whereas he does not comment on the differences in structure. The *muwaššah* and the *dū-bayt* belong to the former while the *zajal*, the *mawāliyya*, the *kān-wa-kān* and the *qūmā* belong to the latter. As we can see, the difference between the two Andalusian forms *muwaššah* and *zajal* is not based on structural features, but on difference in language use. When al-Ḥillī differentiates between the four forms of *lahn*, he clearly uses other criteria, such as rhyme (*qāfiya*), metre (*wazn*) and structure (*tartīb*). Al-Ḥillī informs us that the Maghribian poets, Egyptians and Syrians normally use seven forms of poetry: 1. *šī'r*, 2. *muwaššah*, 3. *dū-bayt*, 4. *zajal*, 5. *mawāliyya*, 6. *kān-wa-kān*, and 7. *ḥammāq* (Hoenerbach Arabic Text 1956:6-7). The people from Iraq and Diyār Bakr in Kurdistan use a subdivision of five forms. For the two Andalusian forms *muwaššah* and *zajal* al-Ḥillī observes that *zajal* is not considered an isolated form. This means that no distinction was made in Iraq between *muwaššah*, *zajal*, and *muzannam*, the mixed form (Arabic text Hoenerbach 1956:12).

Terminology

The technical terms for the different sections of the Andalusian strophic forms are far from clear. In any case, it is evident that his terms are

20 Al-Ḥillī was born in 1278 in al-Ḥilla in Iraq and he died in Baghdad in 1348 (Levin 1975 259; Nicholson 1956 449)

21 The phenomenon *ī'rāb* can be translated as 'inflection'. The inflections of the noun in Arabic, marked by alternating vowel endings (in the singular), are identical with the endings of the moods of the verb. *ī'rāb* includes both categories.

unequivocal and incompatible with the terms used by Ibn Bassām and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk. Al-Ḥillī uses the term *bayt* in two different ways. On the one hand he uses the term obviously referring to a line (i.e. using the term as in the classical *poeticae*), and on the other hand he uses this term when he refers to an entire strophe, (cf. Ibn Bassām). The opening strophe with common rhyme is called *matla'*. The *xarja*, which is the second part with common rhyme (*qufl*) of the last strophe according to Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, seems to be used for any second part with common rhyme throughout the poem. We know this, because in his text al-Ḥillī quotes the lines of some poets, saying: "He says in one *xarja* of this *zajal*", "He says in one of the *xarja*-s of the *zajal*" and "He says in the *xarja* of one strophe of this *zajal*".²² As we can see, for al-Ḥillī there exist more than one *xarja* in a *zajal*. Since he quotes in every case sections with common rhyme, it seems plausible that for al-Ḥillī the term *xarja* is the same as *qufl* (Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk) or *simṭ* (Ibn Bassām). To complicate matters, al-Ḥillī also uses the term *qufl* in the same meaning as Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk did before, and we also find the term *guṣn* in the same meaning as Ibn Xaldūn used it. Summarizing, I can make the following observations:

Al-Ḥillī used both terms *xarja* and *qufl* (*simṭ* for Ibn Xaldūn), and it is difficult to find out what the author exactly meant when he used these terms. The first option is that the terms are indeed synonyms and the author uses the two without distinction, as I just have mentioned. Another possibility is that al-Ḥillī refers to two different phenomena sharing some common features.

In the *muwašṣaḥ*, *laḥn* is not permitted, except in the *xarja*, while in the *zajal* *i'rāb* is 'forbidden'. If we assume that *xarja* means for al-Ḥillī the same as *qufl* (and not only the last *qufl* but every *qufl* of the poem), we can explain the mixed type *muzannam*, where we find *i'rāb* in the *aḡṣān*, whereas all *aqfāl* contain *laḥn*, which is only permitted in the last *qufl* in the *muwašṣaḥ* (Arabic text Hoenerbach 1956:10). In other words, the use of vernacular speech in the *muzannam* is an extension from the last *qufl* to all *aqfāl*. The *muwašṣaḥa* by the Taifa king of Seville al-Mu'tamid (Jones 1992:n°347) is a very important specimen which can be seen as textual evidence of the existence of such an extension of *laḥn* inserted in *i'rāb* sections. In actual performance of Maghribian music from al-Andalus this is a very current feature and is called *tamzīj*, which means the interpolation or contamination of one composition in another, possibly the mixing up of lines of *laḥn* with lines with *i'rāb*, as happens in the *muzannam* (Plenckers 1989:10 and 172).

Another possibility is that al-Ḥillī uses the term *xarja* referring to the last *qufl*. In this case he could have quoted a *zajal* which can have more than

22 Fols.35a and 36a, Manuscript Istanbul, *apud* Hoenerbach (1956).

one concluding *xarja*, so that his remark "he says in one of the *xarja*-s of the *zajal*" means that one *zajal* could be finished using several *xarja*-s as final *qufl*, with different texts. In other words: the poet had more than one *xarja* in his repertoire for closing his poem. This is corroborated in our sources, where one composition can be finished by two or more different *xarja*-s, and the opposite is also recorded: one *xarja* used in different *muwaššahāt*. The key for this problematic question can be found in the terminology used by al-Ḥillī himself, when he uses the hybrid word *xarja zajaliyya*. He alludes to the insertion of *lahn* in strophic poetry. If this takes only place at the end, the poem is a *muwaššah*. If it is extended to all lines with common rhyme (*ağṣān*) it is a *muzannam* and if the extension also includes the lines with independent rhyme, it is a *zajal*, which contain *lahn* throughout the whole poem. I think that the equivocal term *xarja* of al-Ḥillī could be explained in this way. Earlier we saw the exact parallel confusion of meanings with the ambiguous term *markaz* for *xarja*. For Ibn Bassām it means "any section with common rhyme", and on other occasions only the section with common rhyme of the last strophe is meant.²³

3.1.5 Al-Mawā'ini

As Monroe observed, orientalist have overlooked one source which is important for the study of Andalusian strophic poetry. The author in question is Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Xayra al-Mawā'ini who was born in Cordoba. He lived in Granada and died in Morocco in 1168. He wrote the book called *Rayḥān al-Albāb wa-ra'yān al-šabāb* in 1163 and he also wrote a *Kitāb al-Waššāḥ al-mufaṣṣal* (Nykl 1946:353).²⁴ Monroe quotes a fragment which he found in the *Muwaššahāt Mağribiyya* written by 'Abbās al-Jarārī.²⁵ From the fragment quoted by Monroe (1987:253 and 158 n.6) we see that al-Mawā'ini uses the term *xarja* for every section with common rhyme, i.e. as a synonym of *simṭ* or *qufl*. Al-Mawā'ini shares this peculiarity with al-Ḥillī, as we have seen already.

3.1.6 Ibn Quzmān

The famous Cordoban poet who composed almost exclusively *azjāl*, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Quzmān,²⁶ wrote in the same period as Ibn Bassām and gives in his prologue in classical Arabic rhymed prose to his *Dīwān Iṣābat al-ağrād fī dīkr al-a'rād*²⁷ the names of some of his predecessors. Unfortunately, the texts of these authors are not known. As García

23 *Markaz* has more than one meaning. It is also used as a musical term for a 'tone of stability', which is found at the base of each one of the scalar segments of the *maqām* (Al-Faruqī 1978 26.n 6) For the term *maqām* see Idelsohn (1913-1914).

24 See chapter 4 for the four Mss of the *Rayḥān*

25 Dār al-Naṣr al-Mağribiyya Casablanca, 1973 (not consulted).

26 Actually, there were two persons with the name Abū Bakr b. Quzmān. See for further details Lévi-Provençal (1944 352-358)

27 Nykl (1933 7-14 and 335-344), Tuulio (1941); García Gómez (1972); Corriente (1980· Arabic text 1-7) and (1989 35-40).

Gómez already observed (1972:II; 875-76) this prologue is somewhat disappointing, compared with the text of al-Hillī, because we cannot extract a complete *poetica* from it. According to James T. Monroe (1988:46), García Gómez approached the prologue with the wrong expectations, because Ibn Quzmān was a poet, and not a theoretician nor a literary historian. However, we can sample a considerable amount of references by Ibn Quzmān which reveal the technical terms of his own *poetica*. Ibn Quzmān used different terms for his poems and we can use these terms as indirect indications for a poetics, written or not written, of that period in al-Andalus. For the entire poem he uses the term *zajal*, and sometimes the diminutive *zujayyal*.²⁸ Without making a clear distinction, he also uses the terms *muwaššah* and *tawšīh* (Corriente 1993c:159). For poetry in a more general sense, he prefers the word *šīʿr*. For the stanza or strophe, he does not seem to use unequivocal terms. We find the term *qasīm* and *bayt*. Also we find the term *šaʿr* for strophe, but this can also mean line (we saw the same confusion of meaning in the case of the term *bayt*). For the sections with independent rhyme (*bayt* or *ḡuṣn*) he uses the term *aqsām*. The sections with common rhyme (*simṭ* or *qufl*) are called *maṣāʾir*. Ibn Quzmān does not distinguish between *xarja* and *markaz*, which demonstrates the synonymy of both terms (Corriente 1993c:68). It is significant that Ibn Quzmān frequently informs us about his own *poetica*, which proves that he was conscious of his innovative poetry.²⁹ As Stern observed (1974:15), Ibn Quzmān uses the term *minqāl* for *maṭlaʿ*, as we can read in the line “lam qaṭ naqal bayt wa-lā minqāl /illā rtijāl”.³⁰

3.1.7 Ibn ʿArabī and al-Šuštārī

The complete *muwaššah* has a prelude, called *maṭlaʿ*. In the *dīwān* of Ibn ʿArabī (1165-1240) we do not find the term *tāmm*, but he uses the term *aqraʿ* (‘bald’) for a composition without a prelude. Almost always there is an exact symmetry in all lines with common rhyme. We can consider the opening lines, the *maṭlaʿ* or the ‘heading’ as the indication for metre and rhyme structure of all the following *aqfāl*. Ibn ʿArabī uses two synonyms for the *maṭlaʿ*. The first is *raʿs* (lit. ‘head’; cf. Sp. ‘Cabeza’), used in the phrase *wa-qāl ayḍan fī naẓm al-tawšīh wa-lahu raʿs*... The second term used by Ibn ʿArabī is *minqāl*, used as synonym. In later sources we also find the term *lāzima*, used in the *ʿAdārā al-Māʾisāt* (Stern 1974:15).³¹

28 The diminutive is a very productive formation in Hispano-Arabic. The formation is usual {1u2āyya3} for the masculine and {1u2āy3a} for the feminine as we can read in Corriente (1977 94 and 1992 79), cf. Alcalá *culéyeb* (‘little dog’), *conáidal* (‘candil’), *buḡāyila* (‘little mule’), etc.

29 Interesting parallels can be found in Provençal poetry where de poets inform us about their novelties, e.g. “*Farai un vers de dreit nien...*” Alberto de Cuenca (1983:16-21) and especially Ferrante (1984) and in the second strophe of the *Libro de Alexandre*.

30 However, Corriente proposes the term *maṭlaʿ* in a missing section of *zajal* 59/11/3 (Corriente 1993c 96).

31 Stern quotes n^{os} XV, XX, XVI and VIa from the first edition of Bulaq (pp. 194, 212, 197 and 196).

Another technical term which is written in the margin of the manuscript to describe six *muwaššahāt* is the term *muḍaffar* which is related to the term *taḍfīr* used by Ibn Bassām. These six poems all have internal rhyme within their *ağṣān*, so that the term *muḍaffar* probably means 'containing internal rhyme' [in the *ağṣān*] (Monroe 1985-6:130; see *supra* par. 3.1.1).

Often one reads the affirmation that the *xarja* is a sort of refrain.³² This is not correct, but understandable because of the confusion in terminology, in particular those terms which are used for the sections with common rhyme. According to some different sources, the *maṭla'* has this particular function. We know this since the Hebrew poets usually indicate the *maṭla'* at the beginning of the poem as an indication for metre and melody (*laḥn*), and we can also see this feature in the strophic poems of the mystic Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Fāsī, known as al-Šuštārī (1212-1269). It is possible, however, that the poet quotes a mavlac of another composition at the end of his poem. The refrain of another poem is incorporated at the end of the poem, but it is not the refrain of the first poem. It is not implausible that the poet tries to fit the metre and rhyme scheme of another composition in his own poem according to the technique of *mu'āraḍa* ('literary emulation').³³ It is also possible that this *xarja-maṭla'* could be the refrain of the following poem, linking two compositions together as I suggested elsewhere (Zwartjes 1989). In this case, I can explain the existence of the 'bald' compositions (*aqra'*). The poets or the scribes did not feel the necessity to repeat the refrain of the earlier, preceding composition and the poem in question could have the same refrain when it was developed according to the practice of literary emulation (*mu'āraḍa*).³⁴

32 Schippers (1990 27) uses the term 'refreingedeelte' (refrain-segment), cf Harvey (1974 V): 'puzzling Romance refrains'

33 See the article 'Mu'āraḍa' in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Schippers 1978).

34 However, it will be difficult to prove such a view, since we know almost nothing about the musical performance or the way of reciting these poems. Assuming this particular function of the *xarja* and the *maṭla'*, some anomalies could be explained. As I said elsewhere (Zwartjes 1991a), it is striking that in the *Diwān* of Ibn Quzmān the poems n^{os} 107 and 108 are linked in this way. The *maṭla'* of the second has the same text as the *xarja* of the preceding poem, and a comparable situation we find in the collection of Ibn Bišrī (n^{os} 199 and 200). Monroe clearly demonstrated that the poets prefer to quote in their *muwaššah* the *maṭla'* of an existing *zajal*. One very interesting piece is the *zajal* n^o 59 of Ibn Quzmān where the same *maṭla'* is used as the *xarja*. The author seems to use a specific hybrid term *doṣ 'amalāyn* (with two functions). A serious complication for such a view is that no 'ajamiyy fragments are found in the *maṭla'*-section. If such a Romance opening strophe existed, probably the scribe, who did not understand these words, left them out. This is the second possible explanation for *aqra'* compositions. Maybe *aqra'* compositions had *matālī'* in Romance diction, but it must be noticed that colloquial Arabic is not found in the *maṭla'* section either.

Concluding scheme:³⁵

	Bassām	Sa ^c īd	Sanā'	Hillī
(AA	Ø	Ø	maṭla ^c	maṭla ^c)
bbb AA	ḡuṣn markaz	bayt ḡuṣn simṭ	Ø bayt qufl	bayt (qufl) xarja
ccc AA	ḡuṣn markaz	ḡuṣn simṭ	bayt qufl	bayt (qufl) xarja
ddd AA	ḡuṣn markaz	ḡuṣn simṭ	bayt qufl	bayt (qufl) xarja
eee AA	ḡuṣn markaz	ḡuṣn simṭ	bayt qufl	bayt (qufl) xarja
fff	ḡuṣn	ḡuṣn	bayt	bayt
AA	markaz	Ø	xarja	xarja

3.2 Medieval Arabic theory of the *xarja* (*markaz*)

3.2.1 The description of the *xarja* by Ibn Bassām

Ibn Bassām does not use the term *xarja* but he talks about *markaz*. According to his description, the inventor Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qabrī, used colloquial Arabic and non-Arabic (=Romance) diction, which he called *markaz*.³⁶ It is clear, as Monroe observed, that the poet did not *invent* his *xarja*, but he *took* colloquial Arabic and Romance phrases. Because Ibn Bassām does not incorporate strophic poetry in his study, he does not give us an anthology, nor a more detailed description of the *xarja*. The only

³⁵ In this scheme we exclude the terminology of minor sources, such as al-Mawā^cīnī.

³⁶ "ya'xudu l-lafza al-^cāmmiyya wa-l-^cajamiyya wa-yusammi-hi l-markaz, wa-yaḏa^cu ^calay-hi l-muwaššaha" (Monroe 1985-6:122).

information he gives us, deals with the technical terms *taḍmīn* and *taḍfīr* concerning internal rhyme.

3.2.2 The description of the *xarja* by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk

The most complete description of the *xarja* can be found in the *Dār al-Ṭirāz* by Ibn Sana' al-Mulk. He informs us also that the *xarja* must be written in colloquial Arabic (*‘āmmī*) or in a foreign non-Arabic language (*‘ajamī*). A poet could invent a new *xarja*, and if he was not able to do so, he could quote a *xarja* which was already en vogue. Insofar, he agrees with Ibn Bassām. *Muwašṣaḥāt* by different poets from different regions and periods can use the same *xarja*. For example, Ṭodrōs b. Y^chu-ḏāh Abū l-‘Aḫīyyāh (died, 1306), the *rab de la corte* of the King Alfonso X the Wise, used some 150 years later a *xarja* of the poet Y^chūdāh ha-Lēbī,³⁷ and many other examples could be enumerated. This can indicate that we have to deal with a tradition of ‘songs’ here, but not necessarily. These particular features can also be explained within the techniques of literary emulation (*mu‘āraḍa*). One poet can imitate another, using his *xarja* or his *maṭla‘* as example for his metre and rhyming scheme. This example is not necessarily a current song from the Romance tradition. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk prefers to write them himself, but - as he admits - he does not know the Romance dialect spoken in al-Andalus, and probably he does not know exactly, what Andalusian Arabic was like, either. He found the next best solution for this problem. Writing a composition of his own, he closes in the Persian language.³⁸ According to the prescriptions of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, the *xarja* must be introduced by *verba dicendī*, as ‘he (she) said’, or ‘he (she) sang’. It is customary to shift the focus of the person who sings. The male poet of the body of the poem can introduce another person, quoting a song from a female voice, a bird or a city. The *xarja* is usually written in the direct speech, and the tenor must be Ḥajjāj-like or Quzmān-like, or even in the ‘thieves’ language’ (*luḡāt al-dāṣṣa*).³⁹ It must be the salt, the musk and pepper of the *muwašṣaḥa*. Consequently, the transition to the *xarja* must be abrupt rather than smooth. The switch operates at various levels. The thematical shift, shift of focus and linguistic shift must have the function of a limerick-like final song or composition, contrasting the body of the poem with its traditional metaphors and topics from classical poetry, with the ending. We know from later sources that the shift also operated on the musical level and it is not impossible that this was also true in the medieval period, although this cannot be supported by evidence. In a composition from the *‘Eṭ lē-ḥōl ḥēḫeṣ*, we see at the end of a *mu-*

37 Solà-Solé, n^{os} XXXVIIIa and b.

38 Hitchcock interpreted this line in (1991b:173).

39 When Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk uses the term Ḥajjājīyya, he refers to the poet Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥajjāj al-Baghdādī (died in 1000) who is notorious in the East for his obscene poetry (*mujūn*) (Stern 1974:49 and Rikābī 1949:177:n 4). Abu Haidar translates the term *luḡāt al-dāṣṣa* as ‘thieves’ Latin’, which is not the exact equivalent. In the context of the *xarja*, we can also expect ‘thieves’ Arabic’.

waššaha an invitation to sing a psalm. The quotational character of the final strophe, here gets also a musical dimension.⁴⁰

3.3 Theory and practice

Almost every important source of prescriptive theory breaks its own rules. Ibn Quzmān says in his prologue to the *Iṣābat al-Aḡrād fī ḍikr al-ʿrāḍ* that he is the best composer of *azjāl* of his age in the world and he regrets that he does not live in the time of his predecessors so that he misses the opportunity to show them his competence in composing poetry. These skills appear to be exclusively the technique of writing poetry without inflection (*ʿrāb*). When we read the prologue,⁴¹ we can state that Ibn Quzmān does not write compositions according to his own norms. His deviations concern mainly the application of inflections in his own *azjāl*, which is forbidden in the *zajal* according to his own statements in his prologue, where we read that he “stripped the *zajal* of classical inflections”. He adds that “the usage of colloquial wording within the classically inflected diction of *qaṣīdas* and *muwašṣaḥs* is no uglier than the usage of classical inflections in the *zajal*”.⁴² In theory, the *zajal* must be without inflection, but in practice Ibn Quzmān uses to some considerable extent *ʿrāb*.⁴³ In the words of Monroe, Ibn Quzmān must have written on the principle ‘*puedo y no quiero*’, rather than ‘*quiero y no puedo*’ (Monroe 1988:53:n.22). I shall deal with the prosodical implications of this principle in the seventh chapter.

On many occasions, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk does not respect his own principles, although his treatise shows many statements which are true, or almost true. For instance, he states that the *xarja* must be introduced by *verba dicendi*, and this is true in 80 percent of the extant corpus, and this means that one fifth does not have any introducing *verbum dicendi* (Jones 1991a:90). The most remarkable discrepancy between the rules and the text of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk is the almost total absence of *xarja*-s in *a'jamiyya* in his own

40 “Jouez une belle musique: chantez, en action de grâce, le psaume de la Colombe muette, multipliez le mélodies nouvelles répondez par un cantique intégral: prolongez avec force ritournelles et refrains, les psaume *‘al-ha-s’miniṭ* .” (Ps. XII) (Zafrani 1977 357). In the Castilian *pastorela* we saw the same procedure, as I pointed out in my article in *Al-Qanṭara* (Zwartjes 1989:255)

41 The Arabic text can be found in Nykl (1933:7-14) and Corriente (1980). Spanish translations by Nykl (1933:335-344), García Gómez (1972-II:875-886) and Corriente (1989:35-40). For a recent commentary on the prologue, see Monroe (1988).

42 Arabic text: "wa-laysa l-laḥnu fī l-kalāmī l-mu⁶rābī l-qaṣīdī aw il-muwaṣṣaḥī bi-aqbaḥa min al-⁷rābī fī z-zajal wa lā yunazzahu ⁸an ḥādā l-⁹arī l-jalal, illā l-axtal" Translation "The usage of colloquial wording within the Classically inflected diction of *qaṣīdas* and *muwaṣṣaḥs* is no uglier than the usage of classical inflexions in the diction, and only al-Axṭal may be considered to rise above this grave error" (Monroe 1988:51-n.19).

43 Ihsān ʿAbbās states that the *zajal* is wholly vernacular (ʿāmmiyya), and sometimes with Romance words (ʿajamiyya) (1962:264). As Abu Haidar states (1977:27), this is not true, since Ibn Quzmān made extensive use of *ʿrāb*, just as other poets did.

collection. He must be excused, because he explicitly admits that he is not capable of understanding Romance. Therefore, he finished a *muwaššaha* in Persian, a language that also fits in the category *a^cjamiyya* (i.e. ‘non-Arabic’; ‘foreign’). Stern observed that *grosso modo* the statements of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk are correct and can be confirmed by the texts, but in the words of Stern (1974:39) “some of his rules are somewhat schematic and assert clear-cut and scholastic rules where there are only vague conventions”. Another incongruity is that in reality there are more *xarja*-s in classical Arabic than one would expect from the statement of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk. It is unknown how many original Andalusian texts Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk had at his disposal, but it is very probable that we have at this very moment more texts available than our Egyptian had, since we have the ‘*Uddat al-Jalīs* of Ibn Bišrī in print now. His rules can be verified in this extant corpus.

3.4 Hebrew sources

Already in the earliest period of Hispano-Arabic *muwaššahāt*, we find Hispano-Hebrew imitations. There are no extant Hebrew *muwaššahāt* before Š^emū’ēl b. Naḡrēylāh ha-Nāḡīd (993-1056). The earliest Hispano-Hebrew *muwaššaha* with a Romance *xarja* was written by the poet Yōsēp al-Kātib (The Scribe) who composed a *muwaššaha* in honour of Š^emū’ēl b. Naḡrēylāh ha-Nāḡīd and his brother. Compositions by the author Š^elomoh b. Y^ehūdāh b. Gabbīrōl (1020-1058) are from this early period. Many Hispano-Hebrew *muwaššahāt* have been composed by Y^ehūdāh ha-Lēbī and about one quarter of all secular Hebrew *muwaššahāt* have been written by Ṭodrōs Abū l-^eAḡīyyāh who worked at the court of king Alfonso X the Wise. The Hebrew authors used their own terminology for the different poetical phenomena. We find two different types of technical terms. In the first place, we see the adaptation of already existing terminology, (for instance *pizmōn* = ‘refrain’, already used in the Bible (Zafrani 1977:53). Many words are from Greek origin, such as *piyyūṭ*⁴⁴ or *kiklor*.⁴⁵ The latter is a strophic composition where the first or the final element of the first strophe is repeated at the end of every following strophe. Many terms have been introduced in a later stage and these terms are translated from the Arabic technical terms. The term ‘ēzōr (‘belt’) is used for *qufl* (‘lock’, ‘key’, ‘closing section’) and only in more recent times the term *šīrēy* ‘ēzōr is used as an equivalent for *tawšīḥ* poetry. The prelude is called *p^etīḥāh* and the *xarja*, which is the final *qufl*, is called *ḥāṭīmāh* (‘signature’, ‘closing part’), which is not a literal translation of *xarja* (= ‘exit’) (Zafrani 1977:250-257). Olmo Lete gives us the term *maḍrīk* for *maṭla^c*, *qalaḥ* [sic; *qērēḥ*] for *aqra^c*,

44 From ποιητής (‘poet’).

45 Variants *kiklar*, *kuklor* from the Greek κύκλος (‘cycle’).

bayiṭ for *bayt* and *‘ānāp* for the final strophe (Olmo 1986:22-24).

In Hebrew literature, the prelude was to be repeated as a refrain as early as the 10th century (Stern 1974:208:n.3; Le Gentil 1963:7-10; Beltrán 1984:242:n.16). Tanḥūm b. Yōsēp̄ Y^crūšalmī wrote in the middle of the 13th century a glossary on Maimonides' *Code*. When commenting on the item *pizmōn*, Tanḥūm tells us that:

this word does not occur in the *Code* of Maimonides, nor in the *Mišna*, but it is often employed in writing down musical texts and *muwashshaḥāt* in the following way: At the end of every strophe, *pizmōn* is written, and when the *muwashshaḥ* is presented, after the reciter finishes a strophe, those present come in with the *maṭla'* because from this point one 'rises' at the beginning of the composition, and the *maṭla'* is thus the rising place. The *maṭla'* is termed *pizmōn* because it is recited as a refrain after the reciter has finished each verse.⁴⁶

Did there ever exist a refrain in the *muwaššah*?

It is obvious that al-Šuštārī and Ibn al-^cArabī used a sort of refrain in their strophic poetry. Most scholars assume that the *maṭla'* had this particular function, and not the *markaz* or *xarja*. It is also remarkable that a technical Arabic term with a semantic connotation, such as 'to repeat', 'to return', etc. is not recorded in the medieval definitions, although such terms are frequently used in musical sources. For instance, the technical term *tarjī'*⁴⁷ or *rujū'* is not used in the sources which I have discussed in this chapter. Le Gentil states that the invention of the blind poet Muqaddam of Cabra was the fact that he introduced the refrain, and he added that this was an unknown element in the Islamic repertoire (1963a:15). However, the existence of the refrain in Arabic tradition is documented. *Tarjī'* seems to be the most current term for 'refrain' in Arabic music, while *rujū'* seems to be the most current term for 'return' (*vuelta*) (Plenckers 1982:93; Zafrani 1977:293). One specific meaning of the word *rujū'* is the "third of the three main sections of the *muwaššah*" and it constitutes a return to the main thematic material and the mode and register of the opening section. In the last meaning, it is used as a synonym for *qafḷa* and *ḡitā'*.⁴⁸ The definition of the term *tarjī'* from the 11th century musical treatise *Kitāb Kamāl adab al-ḡinā'* by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ^cAlī al-Kātib is as follows: "répétition, réitération ou refrain, correspond à plusieurs notes longues qui se répètent

46 Quotation from Stern (1974 208), published earlier in 1965. The Hebrew text can be found in VW Bacher "Aus dem Wörterbuche Tanchum Jeruschalmis" 26 *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest*, 1903, Hebrew section, 24-25.

47 From the same root we saw earlier the Persian *tarjī'*-band.

48 Definition from al-Faruqī (1981:284) For *qafḷa* and *ḡitā'* see also Faruqī (1981:58-59 and 252)

de leur début à leur fin, ou de leur fin à leur début, une ou plusieurs fois” (Shiloah 1972:124). Other terms used in the same musical treatise are *radda* and *karra*. The first is also a rhetorical term from ‘*Ilm al-badī*’, meaning ‘to point back’ from the end of the line to the beginning (*radd al-‘ajuz ‘alā l-ṣadr*)⁴⁹ and in musical context it means “une reprise qui vient à la fin du chant et qui est tirée soit du même vers soit d’un autre”, which implies that this section can be the return and the refrain as well.⁵⁰ *Karra* is the “répétition au cours d’une mélodie d’une seule note ou d’une formule préférentielle”. In this description from the 11th century the distinction between *radda* and *karra* is not very clear (Shiloah 1972:125). In a paragraph about ‘the beautiful voice’ in the *Kitāb al-‘Iqd al-farīd* by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi we see a description of the dichotomy *taqīṭ* and *tarjīṭ*. The first is used for the recurring pattern of poetical feet and the latter for the repeated musical phrase. Farmer observed that the term *tarjīṭ* is used for the refrain of a song (1942:177:n.1).

3.5 Conclusion

The terminology which is used in the medieval treatises is far from uniform. This does not surprise us, since it is very common in most medieval disciplines, occidental and oriental, that certain technical terms are used for different phenomena. In our case, many factors contributed to this amalgam of confusing terms. The most important reason is the total lack of contemporary evidence from the earliest period of the *muwašṣaḥ* and the *zajal* (9th and 10th centuries). Our main source from Andalusian soil is Ibn Bassām, who preferred not to incorporate this type of poetry in his anthology. Other theoreticians who have not been biased by the negative judgement of non-classical terms are problematic or confusing, because they were written far from al-Andalus, in Egypt and Iraq, and much later than Ibn Bassām. I have tried to show the discrepancy and in some cases contradiction of these technical terms. In order to avoid ambiguity, I shall use the term *maṭla‘* for the initial lines with common rhyme, preceding the first strophe. I use the term *xarja* for the final line(s) of the poem with common rhyme, repeating totally or partially the rhyme-scheme of the *maṭla‘*. The term *ḡuṣn* will be used for the monorhymed lines of each strophe with independent rhyme scheme (the lines which do not rhyme with the lines with common rhyme). Every line with common rhyme, except the *maṭla‘* and the *xarja*, is called *simṭ*. There is no satisfactory Arabic equivalent for the Spanish ‘estribillo’ (‘refrain’) and a Spanish equivalent for *xarja* is also non-existent (see *infra* chapter 6). The hispanized form

49 To be discussed in chapter 9.

50 The same term is used for “responsorial singing, particularly performances on occasion of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, where the group sings the refrain of the *radd*” (Al-Faruqī 1981:273)

jarcha was invented in this century and can be used for Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew compositions, but we must be cautious when we apply the term *jarcha* for Romance parallels.

4 The poets, manuscripts and editions of *tawšīḥ* poetry

4.1 The poets

In order to understand the literary context in which Andalusian strophic poetry flourished, I shall describe in this chapter some details of the *waššāḥūn* (composers of *muwaššahāt*) and *zajjālūn* (composers of *azjāl*). It is not my intention to describe all poets who wrote Andalusian strophic poetry, but only those who offer some interesting aspects which are relevant to this study.

4.1.1 Chronology

The poets can be subdivided chronologically. I use the same classification as Sayyid Ġāzī: the Taifa-period (1031-1091), the Almoravid (1091-1145), the Almohad (1145-1230) and the Naṣrid (1230-1492) periods. I shall begin with the period of the emirate and caliphate, a period from which we do not have extant texts of *muwaššahāt* or *azjāl*. The most important poet is of course the inventor himself, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qabrī, or as we read in other sources, Muqaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Qabrī, who wrote during the period of the emirate of ʿAbd Allāh (888-912). The theoretician Ibn Bassām tells us that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, the author of the *ʿIqd al-Farīd*, was the inventor of the *muwaššah*, whereas al-Ḥijārī informs us that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi took over the invention of Muqaddam. The second poet mentioned by Ibn Bassām is Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī who wrote immediately after Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi. The Hebrew authors Dūnāš b. Laḥrāṭ and M^enaḥēm b. Sārūq used *musammaḥāt* in their treatises on the introduction of Arabic prosody in the second half of the 10th century, but Hebrew *muwaššahāt* from the 10th century have not survived. If Abū l-Qāsim al-ʿAṭṭār, the author of *muwaššaha* n°33 of the *ʿUddat al-Jalīs*, is the same person as Abū l-Qāsim b. al-ʿAṭṭār as Jones suggested, this *muwaššaha* must be situated in the 10th century, since this poet lived from 911/2-997 A.D (Jones 1993:231-232). However, this theory has been recently rejected by Fierro (1994), as I already observed (*infra* par.3.1.1).

In the Taifa-period the *muwaššah* began to enjoy a large diffusion. The earliest Arabic *waššāḥ* is ʿUbāda b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ but we know almost nothing about this poet, and the earliest Hebrew *waššāḥ* is Yōsēp al-Kātib, who composed a panegyric for Š^emūʿel b. Naḡrēylāh (993-1056). Ibn Gab-bīrōl (1020-1058) worked in the same early period. Other poets are Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, Muḥammad b. ʿIsā b. Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Laxmī b. al-Labbāna, ʿUbāda b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda, Abū l-Asbaḡ b. al-Arqam, al-Kumayt al-Baṭalyawsī, Abū Bakr al-Saraqusṭi al-Jazzār and Ibn ʿAmmār, who was a vizier under the ʿAbbādids of Seville. From the last mentioned, no *muwaššahāt* are left, but we know that he composed them.

Another Hebrew poet from the Taifa-period is Y^ehūdāh b. Ġī'at (also: Ibn Ġayyāt), and we must not forget the Taifa-King al-Mu^ctamid b. ^cAbbād of Seville (1040-1095), who was also a composer of *muwaššahāt*.

In the *Almoravid* period the names of al-A^cmā al-Tuṭīlī, Ibn Baqiyy, Ibn Bājja (Avenpace), Ibn al-Zaqqāq, and Ibn Quzmān, Ibn Ruḥaym, Ibn Yannaq ('Iñigo') Ibn Mālik al-Saraqusṭī, Y^ehūdā ha-Lēbī, Yōsēp b. Ya^cqob b. Šaddīq (Ibn Šiddīq)¹ and Aḥrāhām b. ^cEzrā can be mentioned. The last mentioned spent the major part of his life outside the Iberian Peninsula. Mošeh b. ^cEzrā was born in Granada in the Taifa-period, but wrote in exile in Castile during the *Almoravid*-period. From the *Almohad* period the most important poets are Ibn Zuhri, Ibrāhīm b. Sahl, Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Xaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn Hardūs, Ibn Ġurla, and Ibn Ḥazmūn.

In the period after the battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212), the Hebrew poet Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh can be mentioned, who was born in Toledo, worked at the court of King Alfonso X the Wise in Castile, and later under Sancho IV and Prince don Enrique (1247-1306). He worked at their court as a Minister of Finance (Targarona 1985:201). In the *Naṣrid* period of Granada, the *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl* were very popular according to the personal testimony of Ibn Xaldūn. Even King Yūsuf III (1407-1417) continued the tradition of writing *muwaššahāt*, just as Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Xaṭīb (born in 1313), who was a great collector of *muwaššahāt*. Ibn Xaldūn quotes a *zajal* which was written by Ibn al-Xaṭīb and this poem is an imitation of a *zajal* of al-Šuštārī.

Of many poets we do not know exactly when they lived, or when they composed their poems, such as al-Xabbāz, Ismā'il the Jew and his daughter Qasmūna, and many anonymous poems, almost one third of Ibn Bišrī's collection. Sometimes the same poem is found in another source where it is attributed to a different poet.

4.1.2 Geographic diffusion

Poets lived in all regions of al-Andalus. In the Taifa-period, poets worked at the numerous courts of the 'petty' kings who belonged to different ethnicities. The dynasty of the Taifa Toledo, the *Banū dī l-Nūn* was of Berber origin and the *waššāḥ* Ibn Arfa^c Ra'suh worked for them. Some courts were more interested in poetry than others. For example, the court of Saragossa under the *Banū Hūd* was more a scientific than a poetic centre, but we find nevertheless some authors of *muwaššahāt* in the North, such as al-Aṣḥāḫī al-Lāridī (Lérida), or al-Jazzār from Saragossa. The Taifa Granada where the *Šinhāja* Berbers ruled, was an important centre of

1 Yōsēp b. Šadoq b. Šaddīq lived from 1075 until 1149. In Arabic he is called Abū ^cUmar Yūsuf b. Šiddīq (Olmo Lete 1986:19).

poetic activities, in particular of Hebrew poetry. The Jewish vizier Š^ʿmū'ēl b. Naḡrēylāh is one of these celebrated poets. The main poetic centres were the former capital of the caliphate Cordova, Badajoz under the *Banū l-Afṭas*, Almería under the *Banū Šumādīḥ*, Murcia first under the slave-dynasty *Xayrān* but later annexed by Valencia under the *Banū 'Abd al-'Azīz*, and of course Seville under the *Banū 'Abbād*. These cities remained centres of poetic activity after the conquests of the Almoravids and the Almohads.

A session where poems were recited is called *majlis*. *Tertulia*-like gatherings of famous poets have been recorded, such as those of al-A^ʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, al-Abyaḍ, Ibn Baqī and others in Seville. The blind poet of Tudela, al-A^ʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, is also said to have competed with Ibn Bājja in witty compositions at the court of Ibn Tīfilwīt at Saragossa (Nykl 1946:254-255).

An important factor in the diffusion of the Andalusian strophic innovation, is the fact that many poets, both Hebrew and Arabic, travelled through the whole Islamic world, and some visited or were exiled to Christian countries. I shall demonstrate this with some examples. The Hispano-Hebrew poet Mošeh b. 'Ezrā was born in Granada, but he had been exiled to Castile and there he complained about the lamentable cultural atmosphere, compared to his Andalusian background. When he talks about strophic poetry, he admits that he also wrote these non-classical forms and he considered this as 'youthful sins'. Ibn Bājja was born in the Taifa of Saragossa, but when Alfonso I el Batallador of Aragón reconquered the Kingdom in 1118, he went to the Muslim South, first to Seville and Játiva, and later he went to Fās where he was poisoned. Y^ʿhūdā ha-Lēbī was born in the Christian North (Tudela) and moved to the South. He left the Iberian soil for the East and composed a *muwaššaha* in Alexandria on his journey to the Holy Land. The poet al-A^ʿmā al-Tuṭīlī was born in Tudela and lived also in Murcia and Seville. Many Arabic poets had contacts with North Africa, which is historically understandable, because the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties ruled both sides of the Mediterranean. The King al-Mu^ʿtamid of Seville spent the rest of his life in jail in Aḡmāt in Southern Morocco, when he was captured by the Almoravids. There he wrote many nostalgic poems, his so-called *aḡmātiyyāt*. Ibn al-^ʿArabī was born in Seville in 1076. He studied in the East, returned to Seville and died in 1148 in Fās. Al-Mawā^ʿīnī was born in Cordova, lived in Granada and died in 1168 in Morocco; Ibn Sahl wrote in Seville and died in Ceuta in 1251. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mālik al-Saraqustī, as Ibn al-Xaṭīb informs us, travelled to Egypt and visited Marrākuš (García Gómez 1961:27).

4.1.3 Professions and social background

When we study Andalusian strophic poetry, assessment of the social and economic position of the poets, throughout all centuries and all areas is very much needed. It is striking that many poets are blind (the inventor Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qabrī, or Muqaddam b. Mu^ʿāfā al-Qabrī, al-

A^cmā al-Tuḥlī) and some are called 'illiterate' according to Ibn al-Xaṭīb, such as Xabbāz and Jazzār al-Saraqṣṭī.²

The Hispano-Hebrew and Hispano-Arabic poets are from very different stock. Ibn Zuhr, born in Seville in 1110-1111 had a great reputation as a physician. The Hispano-Hebrew poet Y^chūdā ha-Lēbī, practised medicine (Benabu & Yahalom 1986:140), and his Alexandrian host and imitator of his poems Ahārōn b. al-^cAmmāni was a high-court judge and president of the council. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Yannaq was a poet and a doctor in Játiva as well (Corriente 1989b:233). Ibn Xafāja was a rich landowner, just as the magnate and vizier Abū ^cIsā Lubbūn b. ^cAbd al-^cAzīz b. Labbūn, lord of Murviedro (Peñarroja 1990:102). Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ruḥaym from Bocaliente was an 'almojarife' (royal treasurer, chamberlain) in Seville in 1121 (García Gómez 1961:29; Peñarroja 1990:103). The above mentioned poet Š^cmū'el b. Naḡrēylāh was a vizier under Ḥabbūs b. Māksan in the Taifa of Granada, and Ibn Arfa^c Ra'suh had the same profession at the court of Ma'mūn b. Dī l-Nūn of Toledo. Some poets were professionals and they composed poems for a living. Ibn Quzmān lived from popular poetry, singing and dancing before intellectual gatherings. He travelled between Seville, Cordova, Granada, Málaga, Almería, Jaén and Valencia and wrote panegyrics to local magnates. Ibn Šaddīq (or Šiddīq) ruled the Jewish community in Cordova as a *dayyān* from 1138 until his death in 1149.

It must also be said that many poets, from high or low social class, could write poems in many styles and registers, from the most classical forms to the more light forms. Burlesque, humorous or even gross themes can be found also in the linguistically and formally classical forms, and vice versa, classical themes can be found in the non-classical forms, such as the *zajal* and the *muwaššah*, so that it is impossible to say that poets from lower social position composed poems in a lower register with less prestige and vice versa. However, it is true that even Kings composed non-classical poetry, such as the *muwaššah*. The King of the Taifa Kingdom Seville, Mu^ctamid Ibn ^cAbbād and the King of Naṣrid Granada, Yūsuf III were both composers of *tawšīḥ* poetry.

4.1.4 Language and religion

The *muwaššah* is in many respects a poetic form of the three languages and cultures. Muslims, Jews under Muslim rule and Jews under Christian rule, converted Christians to Islam, and converted Jews to Islam all wrote Andalusian strophic poetry. *Waššāḥūn* of Berber origin are not known, although we know that the poetess Ḥafṣa bint al-Ḥājj al-Rakūniyya was a Berber, but *muwaššahāt* from her hand have not been handed down.

2 Cf. the Oriental poet Xubzarruzī (García Gómez 1961:26).

Menéndez Pidal even tells us that the *muwaššahāt* have been written by bilingual, or even multilingual poets. There are more *xarja*-s which have been written by a *musulmán latinado* than those written by a *mozárabe muy arabizado* (1951:227). Linguistically, the *xarja*-s are without any doubt Romance or have at least Romance material. They were composed by monolingual, bilingual or trilingual poets and it is not so important to which religious group they belonged, since they all composed the same poems within one tradition. In the chapters 7, 8 and 9 I shall return to this question.

Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī al-Iṣbīlī is a Jewish poet, who converted to Islam in the Almohad period, while the poet al-Munfatil, who wrote in the Taifa of Granada, converted to the Jewish religion and praised the Jews and their religion in his poems, although we do not have strophic poems of the latter. Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew poets use Arabic and Romance *xarja*-s, and in many *xarja*-s the words of a female of another language or ethnicity is introduced. In some *xarja*-s, love exists between two individuals of different ethnicity, who speak different languages, so that, in one case, the help of an interpreter is needed. The shift of focus in the final strophe of the poem, where in many cases a person of another religion than the poet himself (Schippers 1994) is speaking or singing in direct speech, is intriguing and will be discussed later in the chapter on thematic features.

4.1.5 Poetesses

Most composers of *muwaššahāt* are males. There are few exceptions. According to Hartmann (1897:63 and 74), the poet Ismā'īl al-Yahūdī composed the beginning of a *muwaššaha* himself, while his daughter, Qasmūna bint Ismā'īl al-Yahūdī, finished the poem. It is tempting to think of the possibility that the poetess added a *xarja* of her own at the end, but this cannot be sustained by evidence. We can also think of the possibility that the *maṭla'* is written by the father, while his daughter completed the rest of the poem. Hartmann observes (1897:74) that this Jewish poetess was the only known female composer of al-Andalus. It must be commented that in the '*Uddat al-Jalīs* one *muwaššaha* is attributed to a female composer, the poetess Nazhūn (Jones 1992:n^o239).³

3 Nazhūn al-Garnāṭiyya bint al-Qulay'īyya, or Qalā'ī (according to al-Hijārī's *Mushīb*) was often called *mājīna* ('shameless', 'buffoon'); she was extremely beautiful and knew poetry by heart (Rubiera Mata 1989 13, Garulo 1986 110-118). The vizier Abū Bakr b. Sa'īd of Alcalá la Real exchanged verses with her. For further details see Nykl (1946: 302-3), al-Qulay'īyya (1946 302-3), Garulo (1986:110-118) and Schippers (1993 144-145).

4.2 Arabic sources and editions of *tawšīḥ* poetry

In the last century, von Schack (1877) wrote his thesis concerning the relationships between Arabic and European poetry. This study was mainly based on the work of al-Maqqarī and the studies by Dozy. Earlier, von Hammer-Purgstall published his pioneer study concerning strophic poetry in al-Andalus (1839). Hartmann was the first scholar who used *Dār al-Ṭirāz* of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk in his study *Das Muwaššah* (Hartmann 1897). The *Dār al-Ṭirāz* was the only major source available at that time. After this study, Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry, the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*, has been, and still is, one of the issues which produced many divergent theories in medieval literary history, both occidental and oriental. New discoveries such as the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān added new material in this field of research. The only Ms conserved was copied in the East (Ṣafad) in the middle of the 13th century and in the 19th century it became part of the collection of Saint-Petersburg.⁴ One aspect of these complicated poems has been studied excessively, namely the *xarja*-s or the closing lines of these poems. They were even the main object for literary discussions and polemics between Arabists, Hebraists and Romanists since the orientalist Stern deciphered a series of *xarja*-s from Hispano-Hebrew *muwaššahāt* written in Romance or partly in Romance (Stern 1948), two years after the publication of Romance *xarja*-s, also from the same Hebrew collection, by Millás Vallicrosa (1946).⁵ One year later, Stern published one Hispano-Arabic *muwaššaha* with a Romance ending from the *Tawšī' al-Tawšīḥ* by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, the Escorial manuscript n°438, later published by Muṭlaq (1966), and Cantera added important interpretations of the Hebrew series in 1949. When Stern's publication 'Vers finaux' was already in press, Stern obtained the photocopies of this Escorial Manuscript, sent by García Gómez. In some way, the study of many scholars of this Romance material overshadowed the interest in the rest of the *muwaššaha* itself, because the main attention was paid to the Romance material. Stern was an exception. When he finished his doctoral thesis under the supervision of Gibb on the old Andalusian *muwaššah*, he postponed its publication, because he foresaw that his work would be incomplete without the new material he became acquainted with. The 'new material' under discussion here is the so-called manuscript 'Colin' of Ibn Buṣrā, as Stern vocalized his name. Stern stated that he had not had access to the manuscript '*Uddat al-Jalīs*' (Stern 1955:150). He held out the prospect of a *Corpus mu-*

4 Baron David de Gunzburg: *Le Divan d'Ibn Guzman, texte, traduction, commentaire. Fasc. I. Le texte d'après le manuscrit unique du Musée Asiatique Impérial de St Pétersbourg* S. Calvary, Berlin, 1896 (For editions see 4 2). Fragments of *azjāl* are quoted in al-Hillī and ʿAlī b. Mubārakšāh (Ms Istanbul).

5 An earlier attempt to decipher one Romance *xarja* was made by Menéndez y Pelayo (1894). Brody tried also to decipher some *xarja*-s in his study *Gurtelgedichte de Todros Abū-l-'Afia* (Berlin, 1933) and Baer did the same in his *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* (Berlin, 1936 II 14) and in his article in Hebrew 'The political situation of the Sephardic Jews in the age of Yḥuda ha-Levi' (*Zion* I, n°36.17-19).

waššāḥarum, an immense work he postponed for the time being, and, shortly before his death, he promised to take up this task again in the near future. It is known that in 1956 (Stern 1958:349) Colin put the manuscript at his disposal. The result was the publication of four *muwaššahāt* of this collection. In the following period, Stern published on many other items, but not on this promised *Corpus*. Unfortunately, after his premature death, nothing of this *Corpus* could be found from his hand. Thanks to the valuable editing work done by Harvey we can study Stern's thesis, published posthumously (Stern 1974).

The *Kitāb 'Uddat al-Jalīs wa-mu'ānasat al-wazīr wa-l-ra'īs* of 'Alī b. Bišrī al-Ġarnāṭī is a collection of Andalusian strophic poetry. It is a unique Maghribi manuscript that can be dated in the age of the Sa'ḍians (Schoeler forthcoming). It is said to have belonged to the prince al-Mustaḍī' in Morocco, son of Muley Ismā'īl who died in the year 1173 h. (1759-1760). In recent times it came into the hands of the French arabist Colin. In 1952 the Spanish arabist García Gómez, although he was not able to consult the Colin manuscript personally, published the Romance *xarja*-s in 1952. He took his information from the *'Uddat al-Jalīs* (Ms. Colin), and the *Jayš al-Tawšīḥ* of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Xaṭīb from Granada (1313-1375). In this publication we find 24 Romance *xarja*-s in Arabic script, together with a vocalised form and a Spanish translation and commentary. García Gómez states that his colleague 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī gave him his personal transcription of the sections concerning the final verses of this collection. One year after this publication of García Gómez, Stern collected and edited all the published Romance *xarja*-s in Palermo (Stern 1953; Review: Alarcos Llorach 1953). In 1965 (1975², 1990³), García Gómez published his book *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, feeling the same necessity as Stern to study the complete *muwaššahāt* and not only the Romance *xarja*-s. In this study he not only published the 26 *muwaššahāt* with Romance endings from the manuscript Colin of Ibn Bišrī, but we also find 14 *muwaššahāt* of the manuscript *Jayš al-Tawšīḥ* of Lisān al-dīn b. al-Xaṭīb. García Gómez also reviewed the Hebrew series published by Stern. The main part of both collections, the *muwaššahāt* with *xarja*-s in Arabic (colloquial or classical), could not be studied, because the attention was concentrated on those *muwaššahāt* containing Romance *xarja*-s. In many literary studies and reviews, the readings of the *xarja*-s were considered as definitive versions.⁶ The *Jayš* is known from three manuscripts. In his study García Gómez only consulted the manuscript from the Zaytūna mosque of Tunisia, n°4583, which was given to this mosque in 1841. He states that he could not use the other versions such as the 'Abd al-Wahhāb manuscript. The 'Abd al-Wahhāb manuscript had been publish-

6 See the review of the *Jarchas romances* by Pellat (1977:96), who talks about a "definitive contribution".

ed together with a third manuscript of the *Jayš*, the manuscript from the private library of Muḥammad al-Nifar, a copy from 1837, by Ḥilāl Nājī in 1967, an edition that is hard to obtain. See Stern (1955:155) for detailed information about the inter-relationship of these manuscripts. According to García Gómez (1969) and Jones (1981:40) “the handling of the Romance lines is a disaster” in this Tunisian edition.

The study *Las jarchas romances* of García Gómez also contains one *muwaššaha* from the famous *zajjāl* Ibn Quzmān. The poems of this book are published in vocalized form in Latin script, together with a translation into Spanish without a critical apparatus for the body of the *muwaššahāt*. The *xarja*-s are represented, transliterated in the Arabic text, vocalized and commented, together with a translation into Spanish. According to the recent investigations by Jones “not one transcription is completely accurate. In some cases, to be fair, the deviations concern only minor matters of vocalization, but in others the errors are serious (...) All who have relied on them have been perforce misled” (Jones 1988:7). One must always bear in mind that García Gómez, when he published the 24 *xarja*-s in 1952, wrote explicitly that his interpretations must not be considered as fixed and he also stressed the fact that he was not able to consult the Manuscript. In his words: “Jamás he dado a la imprenta unas páginas mías con espíritu más modesto ni con mayor conciencia de su carácter provisional” (García Gómez 1952:61). When I re-read the versions in Arabic characters of García Gómez, comparing the Romance *xarja*-s with the versions in the new edition of Jones, I came to the conclusion that the work done by García Gómez was not as bad as Jones tells us. Not taking into account the vocalizations, transliterations, interpretations and translations of both authors, I arrived at the following conclusions: Five *xarja*-s of García Gómez (n^{os}. V, VII, XIII, XVI, XIX) are identical with the versions of Jones (I only looked at the printed texts in Arabic characters, not at the notes in which possible alternatives are sometimes given). Seven *xarja*-s have only one difference (III, VI, IX, XI, XII, XIV and XVII), seven *xarja*-s show two different letters (I, II, IV, VIII, XVIII, XXIII, XXIV) and five have three or more (X, XV, XX, XXI, XXII). Jones’ criticism is mainly based on the vocalisation and interpretation of the texts (Zwartjes 1994b).

Heger (1960) and Solà-Solé (1973) published two more editions and translations of entire *muwaššahāt* which contain Hispano-Romance endings. Heger adds parallel Romance fragments to the *xarja*-s and he presents the various readings by previous scholars. In these editions, only the translation of the *muwaššaha* in question is given, and the *xarja*-s are represented in Latin script, unvocalized, together with a vocalized reading and a translation and commentary. Other publications of Andalusian *xarja*-s that must be mentioned are the colloquial Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s from Hebrew *muwaššahāt* published by Monroe and Swiatlo from Hispano-Hebrew *muwaššahāt*. Until the printed version of *‘Uddat al-Jalīs*, the major part of the studies on Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry had been based on the

the studies on Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry had been based on the collection of Ġāzī's *Dīwān al-muwaššahāt al-andalusiyya* (1979), e.g. the study of Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s from Hispano-Arabic *muwaššahāt* by Federico Corriente (1987). The work done by Ġāzī was followed up by Muḥammad Zakariyyā ʿInāni (1986). The interpretation of some *xarja*-s from the Hebrew series was improved by Benabu (1991a; 1991b) and Yahalom (1991a; 1991b) and these two scholars worked together on some Hebrew manuscripts (1986), commenting on and improving Stern's interpretations.

Seven years after Jones had announced (1981:38) a critical edition of the whole corpus of Andalusian Arabic *muwaššahāt*, he published the first palaeographical edition of these *xarja*-s, together with the introductory lines preceding them, the so-called *tamhīd* (Jones 1988). This work is a very careful analysis of the evidence of the manuscript and the current interpretations and readings must be reconsidered now that the material has become available to us. This work was a by-product, as Jones calls it, of a greater task, the publication of the entire Colín manuscript *ʿUddat al-Jalīs*. Two more editions of the Romance *xarja*-s have been published recently. Thanks to the kindness of Bennouna (Tetuán) I was able to obtain a Libyan edition (al-Ṭuʿma 1987). This book is based upon *Las jarchas romances* of García Gómez and after having studied this edition, I must conclude that the handling of the Romance text is, indeed, a disaster. The editor al-Ṭuʿma not only transcribed the Arabic script into Latin, but he even adds translations of the Romance texts into Arabic.⁷ The second is a reprint of the *Corpus* of Solà-Solé (1990), which is somewhat disappointing, because Solà-Solé states that this second edition is an updated version ("puesto al día"). Unfortunately he did not consult the edition of Jones (1988), although this work is mentioned in his bibliography, but with the additional remark "no consultado". In the same year a third edition of the book *Las jarchas romances* by García Gómez appeared, also without considering the palaeographical evidence that had become available earlier. García Gómez criticized in very harsh terms Jones' edition one year later (García Gómez 1991).

In recent days progress has been made in *xarja*-studies. I was able to consult - thanks to the kindness of Corriente who gave me the pre-final versions of his texts - new interpretations of Arabic and Romance *xarja*-s. The Romance *xarja*-s from the *ʿUdda*, a revision of the Arabic *xarja*-s from Hebrew poems, written in cooperation with Sáenz-Badillos, and the Romance *xarja*-s from the Hebrew series, also with Sáenz-Badillos (see bibliography) are all recent publications. In them there is a minimal number of

7 The same author wrote a study, called *Muwaššahāt Ibn Baqī al-Ṭulayṭulī wa-xaṣāʾiṣuhā al-fanniyya*, Baghdad, 1979, quoted by Corriente (1989: 275: n°16, n.4) (not consulted).

textual emendations and the editors' profound knowledge of the Andalusian dialects contributed to a more positive result of these problematic texts than has been the case in the last decades. In earlier studies (1991), Corriente only considered a small number (nine from the Arabic series) of reliable *xarja*-s, and today he admits that many texts are more intelligible than he thought in earlier days. After having published an excellent edition, translation and commentary of the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān (1980; 1991), Corriente published recently all non-Quzmānian *azjāl* from various sources, such as al-Ḥillī, Ibn Saʿīd al-Mağribī, Ibn Xaldūn and the *Genizah* (Corriente 1994) and 14 *azjāl* of Ibn Zamrak and one of Ibn al-Xaṭīb (1990).

Other major sources of medieval Andalusian *muwašṣaḥāt* and/or *azjāl* are:

- *Rayḥān al-Albāb wa raʿyān al-šabāb* by al-Mawāʿinī (died in Morocco in 1168). There are four Mss: One in the *Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid); two in the Royal Library of Rabat and one in the Al-Fātiḥ library in Istanbul.
- *Dār al-Ṭirāz* of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (1150-1211; Egypt) (Rikābī 1977²).
- *ʿAṭīl al-Ḥālī wa-l-muraxxaṣ al-ġālī* of Ṣafiyy al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (1278-1349; Iraq). Hoenerbach (1950 and 1956) mentions one Ms from Munich (Cod.ar. 528; Aumer 224 fos. 1a-55b) and one from Istanbul (Umumi 5542 fos. 15b-69a).
- *Tawṣīʿ al-Tawṣīḥ* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (1296-1363; Palestine) and from the same author: *Al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt* (a biographical dictionary, partly published) which contains Eastern *muwašṣaḥāt* (Stern 1974:8 and 73).
- *Bulūġ al-Amal fī fann al-zajal* of Ibn Hija al-Ḥamawī (1364-1433; Syria) According to Samir Haykal (1982) this collection is still unpublished, but thanks to Bennouna, I was able to consult an edition printed in 1974 (Syria, Damascus).
- *ʿUqūd al-Laʿālī* of al-Nawājī (1386-1455; Egypt), a unique Manuscript from the Escorial (Stern 1974:10). The main part of the thesis of Samir Haykal deals with this collection, according to his still unpublished manuscript, but Bennouna informed me about the existence of an edition from Iraq (Manšūrāt wizārat al-ṭaqāfa wa-l-aʿlām. Al-jumhūriyya alʿirāqiyya, 1972) (See Semah 1983).
- *Rawḍ al-Adāb* of al-Ḥijāzī (1388-1470), still unpublished, as far as I know.
- *Saḡʿ al-Wurq al-muntaḥiba fī jamʿ al-muwašṣaḥāt al-muntajaba* of al-Saxāwī (1427-1497). Stern (1958:343:n.1) already mentioned this manuscript, which consists of two parts. Volume I in Istanbul Ms. 3.918 and volume II Topkapi Saray, n°1.532 and one copy in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (Arabic MS 185). Stern possessed microfilms of this work and he intended to describe this anthology in a later study.
- *Dīwān* of Ibn Xātima (Gibert Fenech 1975; al-Ḍaya 1972).⁸ Two Mss are known. One from the Escorial (Derenbourg 381) and one from Rabat (Bibl. Générale, n°269).

- ‘*Uddat al-Jalīs* and the *Jayš* (see *supra*).
- One manuscript, not mentioned by Samir Haykal is the Moroccan unpublished collection *al-Rawḍa al-Ġannāʾ*, n°192: Dār al-xizāna al-‘āmma. Rabat.
- *Muqaddima* by Ibn Xaldūn (Quatremère 1858), the *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* and *Azhār al-Riyāḍ* by al-Maqqarī (‘Abbās 1968), and the *Muğrib* of Ibn Sa‘īd all contain *muwašṣaḥāt* and/or *azjāl*.

The texts of the Maghribian-Andalusian musical tradition

Andalusian strophic composition became a part of the repertoire of the North-African musicians. The music which accompanies these texts is usually called *mūsīqā al-Andalusīyya*. It is impossible to reconstruct exactly the medieval Andalusian music, because a musical notation was unknown and the musicians took their information from oral tradition. In 1964, Stern published his lecture ‘Andalusian *Muwashshaḥs* in the Musical Repertoire of North Africa’ in which he traced Maghribian poems that are a direct continuation of the Andalusian tradition. It is known that the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties ruled on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar and as I have mentioned earlier (see *supra* par.4.1.2), many poets worked on both sides. Stern (1964:320) traced many examples of poets, such as Ibn al-Labbāna who worked for the ‘Abbādids of Seville, and, after the change of dynasty by the Almoravids, continued his work for the Ḥammādids in Algeria. Ibn Baqīyy and Abū Bakr b. Zuhr also worked on Iberian and North African soil. Stern stated that “the subject has not, however, been studied sufficiently until now, and there are no doubt MSS. in North African libraries which would yield further information”, and again on p. 321: “I am sure that in North Africa, and more especially in Morocco, there are many hitherto unexamined MSS.; not even the collections known to me make it possible to reach some preliminary conclusions”. The first collection mentioned by Stern is *Al-‘Adārā al-Māʾisāt, fī l-azjāl wa-l-muwašṣaḥāt* published by El Khazen (Jounieh, 1902) from a Ms in Rome. This collection contains poems from literary sources of Eastern origin from the collection of al-Nawājī’s ‘*Uqūd al-Laʾālī* and poems by the poet Ibn Zamrak of Granada. It seems obvious that Andalusian compositions found their way to the East where local poets such as Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk admired and imitated them, but we also see the opposite. In Maghribian collections, poems of Eastern origin have been included. Secondly Stern found poems of the musical tradition with indications of the musical mode to which a poem belongs. Stern gives us many examples of poems which can also be found in Ibn Bīṣrī’s collection. In addition Stern mentions the ‘canonical’ tradition of songs by al-Ḥāʾik, containing not only poems of local origin,

8 Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Xātima al-Anṣārī was a poet, historian and grammarian. He was born at an unknown date in Almería and he died in 1369. He was an intimate friend of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Xaṭīb.

but also a minority of songs of Andalusian origin. In 1954 Valderrama Martínez published his *El Cancionero de al-Ḥā'ik*, which is mainly based on a modern version of the MS by the *kātib* al-Sayyid Muḥammad Bū'asal (1931); a Manuscript from Larache dated 1863 and a copy from Rabat (1934-5) called *Majmū' al-Aḡānī al-mūsīqiyya al-andalusiyya al-ma'rūfa bi-l-Ḥā'ik* by the author al-Makkī Ambīrkū. The oldest Ms. consulted by Valderrama Martínez is probably from the middle of the 19th century (an exact date is missing). Finally, Valderrama mentions a Ms of a professor of *rabāb* al-Sayyid al-ʿAyāšī b. Muḥammad al-Wariyāḡlī from Tetuán and another from Fās from al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Dāwūd.

Stern studied also the Algerian tradition, using the *Majmū' al-Aḡānī wa-l-alḥān min kalām al-Andalus* published by Nathan Edmond Yafil (Algiers 1904), which follows al-Ḥā'ik but also contains additional material (Stern 1974:70), and a MS. from the British Museum (Or.7007) which possibly belongs to the Algerian or Tunisian repertoire. In the second Appendix I shall pay attention to the fact that there exist more Mss. from this so-called al-Ḥā'ik tradition, not mentioned by Stern.

4.3 Hebrew sources and editions of *tawšīḥ*-poetry

About two hundred secular Hebrew *muwaššahāt* have been recorded and 25 percent of them were composed by the poet Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḡīyyāh, (born in 1247) who worked at the court of King Alfonso X the Wise (Targarona 1985; Sáenz-Badillos 1988:136). An important region which must be mentioned in the Hebrew tradition of *muwaššahāt* is Yemen. Many imitations (*mu'āraḡāt*) have been handed down in the Yemeni tradition, written in the prayerbooks called *tiklāl*-s, and many compositions are bilingual Hebrew-Arabic. In many cases, as happens in the *maṭrūz* poetry of the Maghreb, we see entire strophes in Arabic, alternating with Hebrew (Idelsohn 1928; Chakbar 1990 and 1991). The chain of transmission of the Hebrew texts is less problematic, compared to that of the Arabic manuscripts. The first reason is that the Hebrew manuscripts are much earlier and the second is the greater number of manuscripts that came down to us. Most of them come from the famous Geniza from Fustāt, or old Cairo, unearthed towards the end of the 19th century.⁹ The major part of these Mss date from the 11th to the 13th century, but later Mss are found also. The *muwaššahāt* from the most celebrated Hispano-Hebrew poets can be found in their respective *Dīwān*-s, which date from the later medieval

9 See: *Guenizah Studies in Memory of Dr. Solomon Schechter*, New York, 1928-29 and S. Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents*, Paris, The Hague, 1964; S. Goitein, 'The Biography of Rabbi Judah Ha-Levi in the Light of the Cairo Geniza Documents,' *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, 28(1959), 41-56. See also Devel (1966).

codices.¹⁰ It must be remarked that many editions of Hebrew poets, containing Romance *xarja*-s, antedate the discovery of Samuel Stern. The earliest copy of Y^chūdā ha-Lēbī's *Dīwān* dates from the 13th century (Oxford 1971), and this was written much later than the *Dīwān* of the earliest compiler Rabbi Ḥiyyā', a contemporary of the poet himself. The earliest copy of Rabbi Ḥiyyā' dates from the 17th century (Oxford 1970). Most *dīwān*-s are from the 16th and the 17th century, and almost all were written in the East, such as the oldest copy of the *muwaššahāt* of Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh (Schocken 37).

Most of the *muwaššahāt* with Romance material from the Geniza texts, on which Stern (1948) and Solà-Solé (1973) based their investigations, can be found in New York (Ms. Adler, n^{os} 2158, 2818, 2193, 3419, and 2385), British Museum (5557 D and Or. 5557 P, Genizah fragments from the 12th century),¹¹ Berlin (n^o103 and 186; 16th century), Cambridge (T-s, Loan 63, H 15, 8 K 14, 108, 96, 111 and 114; Genizah fragments of the 12th century), Oxford (n^{os} 1970 from the 17th century; 1971 from the 13th century, 2853, Hebr. e. 100 and 1972, n^o253), Frankfurt (159; Genizah fragment [original lost, only surviving photo in Schocken Library] and Jerusalem (Schocken, n^o37). Yahalom and Benabu (1986) used the same Mss as Stern and Solà-Solé, adding Or 2389 from the British Library (1635).

Monroe and Swiatlo used the following sources for their collection of Arabic *xarja*-s in Hispano-Hebrew *muwaššahāt*:

- Naftali ben Menaḥem: *Yiṣḥāq b. 'Ezrā: Širim*, Jerusalem, 1949.
- Hayim Brody: *Mošeh b. 'Ezra: Širēy ha-Ḥōl*, 2 Vols. Berlin, 1934.
- Hayim Brody: *Dīwān Y^chūdā ha-Lēbī*, Vols. 1 and 2, Berlin, 1895/1930, Reprint England, 1971.
- Hayim Brody: 'Miširei Rabbi Mošeh ha-Kohen b. Jiqatilla.' *Yedi'ot*, 3(1937), 67-90.
- Hayim Brody: 'Širim me'et Rabbi Aḫrāhām b. 'Ezra.' *Yedi'ot*, 6(1944), 1-45.
- Jacob Eger: *Divan le-Rabbi Aḫrāhām b. 'Ezra*. Berlin, 1886.
- Hayim Schirmann: *Širim Ḥadašim min ha-Genizah*. Jerusalem, 1965.
- Hayim Schirmann: 'Ha-Mešorerim b^cnei Doram šel Mošeh b. 'Ezra ve-Y^chūdā ha-Lēbī.' *Yedi'ot*, 2(1936), 117-194; 6(1944), 249-322.
- David Yellin: *Gan ha-Mešalim ve ha-Ḥidot: Divan Don Todros Abul-^cAfia*, vol. 2, part.2, Jerusalem, 1932-1936. Critical edition of the facsimile edition *Sefer Gan ha-mešalim we ha-Ḥidot*. The Garden of

10 Mošeh b. 'Ezra: *Širēy ha-Ḥōl*. Ed. Brody, Berlin (1935). Y^chūdā ha-Lēbī: *Dīwān*. Ed. H. Brody, Berlin (1894-1930; reprint 1971), Aḫrāhām b. 'Ezra: *Dīwān*. Ed. Egers, Jerusalem (1932-1936). Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh: *Osef Širēy*. Ed. Yellin, Jerusalem (1932-1936).

11 Benabu and Yahalom (1986:146:n.9) observed that Solà-Solé was misled by a printing error. Or. 5557 D and Or.5557 P are the same.

Apologues and Saws, being the Diwan of Todros Halevi Abu-Alafiah..., London, 1926. Monroe and Swiatlo do not mention the Ms. Schocken n°37 which contains 47 *muwaššahāt* of ʿTodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh, edited by Brody: 'Gürtelgedichte des ʿTodros Abu-l-ʿAfija.' *Mitteilungen des Forschungsinstituts für hebräische Dichtung*, 1(1933), 1-93, but these poems are included in the edition of Yellin.

For the study of the Maghribian-Andalusian musical tradition which contains *tawšīḥ* poetry, the literature of the Sephardic Jews in North-Africa (*meḡorāšīm*) can offer supplementary information. Zafrani mentions a Hebrew version by Moises Bonan (1886-1887) of the collection of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥā'ik, who composed his anthology for musical performance in 1786 (Zafrani 1977: 288).¹² Further investigation on this subject is very much needed.

12 For collections of the Moroccan-Hebrew tradition which contain *muwaššahāt*, such as *Šīr Yēdīdūt*, *ʿEṭ lē-ḥōl Ḥēpeš*, see Zafrani (1977).

5 The origins and development of Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry according to Arabic literary theory

5.1 Medieval Arabic theory concerning the origins of the *muwaššah*

Introduction

In chapter 3 I described the creation and development of Andalusian strophic poetry on the basis of intra-Arabic literary techniques. In this chapter I shall present the theories about the origins and development of the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*, beginning with the Medieval treatises themselves. The attempt to explain the *muwaššah* as an elaboration of the process of *tasmīṭ* from the classical *qaṣīd* is an invention of later literary criticism and the main medieval sources do not mention that the *muwaššah* and the *zajal* are structurally a direct continuation of the classical *qaṣīd*. These treatises only deal with the thematic similarity between the *muwaššah* and the classical *qaṣīd*, which will be discussed later in the chapter on thematic features (see chapter 8). Although the *tasmīṭ*-theory offers a solid base for explaining the genesis of Andalusian strophic poetry, other theories will not be excluded in this study. In 5.3 I shall summarize the most important arguments of so-called *tasmīṭ*-debate. Some scholars do not agree with those who explain these strophic poems as an intra-Arabic phenomenon and assert that the birth of these forms could only take place in al-Andalus through the interference of Romance strophic forms from oral tradition. In chapter 6, the most important Romance analogous poems will be described. In the conclusion I shall attempt to answer the question whether these European analogous strophic forms could have been built on Arabic models or if the Andalusian Arabs built their poems on European models.

5.1.1 Ibn Bassām, Ḥijāri, Ibn Saʿīd and Ibn Xaldūn

In chapter 3, I have dealt with these sources and none of them leaves any doubt about the origins of the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*. They all mention the blind inventor from Cabra who lived at the end of the 9th century in the period of the Cordoban *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwānī, who reigned from 888-912. The greatest problem is that his poems are lost.¹ Ibn Xaldūn also mentions another important fact, which is ignored by many

¹ Ibn Bassām: *Kitāb al-Daxira*, (1979:469); Ibn Xaldūn: *Muqaddima* (Rosenthal 1958:440) following Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī's *Kitāb al-Muqtaṭaf*. See Monroe (1992:405 and 415, n. 40) and al-Ahwānī (1948:19-33).

scholars except Hartmann (1897:216). When Ibn Xaldūn deals with contemporary Beduin Arabic poetry, he talks about the existence of a certain type of poetry:

It employs four lines, of which the fourth has a rhyme different from that of the first three. The fourth rhyme, then, is continued in each stanza through the whole poem, similar to the quatrains and the stanzas of five lines which originated by recent poets of mixed and non-Arab parentage (*muwallad*) (Rosenthal 1967:III:414).

It is obvious that Ibn Xaldūn alludes here to the *musammaʿ*, and more specifically to the *murabbaʿ*. This quotation is not from the chapter on Andalusian strophic poetry, but from the chapter on contemporary Beduin poetry. The fact that Ibn Xaldūn mentions the *muwalladūn* as the “originators” of this strophic form, which can be very closely related to the *zajal*, is at least significant. However, we must not forget that the term *muwallad* means nothing more than Post-classical or Post-Umayyad. Even al-Farazdaq has been called a *muwallad*.

5.1.2 Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk

The Egyptian connoisseur Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk tells us explicitly that the origins of the *muwaššah* must be situated in the West of the *Dār al-islām*. Talking about this occidental technique of composing poetry, he says that the Easterners imitated the people from the West who were the best poets of this type of art (Rikābī 1977:29).

5.2 Medieval Arabic theory concerning the origins of the *zajal*

5.2.1 Ibn Saʿīd

Ibn Saʿīd in his *Muqtaṭaf* was the source for Ibn Xaldūn. Both authors leave no doubt that the *zajal* came after the *muwaššah*, from which it was derived. In these sources we can read that “the first to compose poems according to the method of *zajal* was Abū Bakr b. Quzmān. It is true that such poems had been composed in al-Andalus before, but the beauties of the form had not appeared...” (Stern 1974:170). The literary history of the *zajal* is described by Ibn Xaldūn as follows:

Muwashshah poetry spread among the Spaniards. The great mass took to it because of its smoothness, artistic language, and the (many) internal rhymes found in it (which made them popular). As a result, the common people in the cities imitated them. They made poems of the (*muwashshah*) type in their sedentary dialect, without employing vowel endings. They thus invented a new form, which they called *zajal*. They have con-

tinued to compose poems of this type down to this time. They achieved remarkable things in it. The (*zajal*) opened a wide field for eloquent (poetry) in the (Spanish-Arabic) dialect, which is influenced by non-Arab (speech habits) (Rosenthal 1967:III:454).

Interesting as this last observation may be, Ibn Xaldūn does not tell us in detail how and where such an impact was felt. Is it a mere linguistic influence, alluding to the insertion of Romance words, syntagms or lines as we see in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān, or does he mean an impact which affects the versification? The question remains unsolved.

5.2.2 Ibn Quzmān

Ibn Quzmān says in his prologue, that he was not the inventor of the *zajal*. García Gómez (1972:II:876) reconstructed a relative chronology, which is based on the prologue to the *Dīwān*. Later, Monroe discussed the same passage (Monroe 1988:49), where we can read that the contemporaries of Ibn Quzmān admired the skills of the *zajaleers* of the previous generation.² Ibn Quzmān also praises a poet Aṭṭal b. Numāra, whose work has not been handed down. Ibn Quzmān gives only some lines with onomatopoeias used for comic effects (see *infra* chapter 9), and he states that this poet was the initiator of a new style in the art of composing *azjāl*, and he even says that Ibn Numāra was the “only one who has ever approached his own perfection, and believes that, had they been contemporaries, they would have been inseparable friends: he would recognize that Ibn Numāra was his predecessor whom he admired and the latter would have acknowledged Ibn Quzmān’s superiority” (Nykl 1946:270; Corriente 1980:4). As Monroe observed, the few quoted lines of Aṭṭal b. Numāra reveal clearly the rhyme scheme *aaab*, which proves that the *zajal* was in use about one century before Ibn Quzmān. Monroe added that Ibn Quzmān considered himself not as an “innovator”, but as the “restorer of a dilapidated tradition, and hence, as a ‘neoclassical’ *zajaleer*” (Monroe 1988:50). Ibn Quzmān continues that, after Aṭṭal b. Numāra, “come those other poets to whom I have alluded and they maligned [him]” (Monroe 1988:49). When Ibn Quzmān talks about the poets of his own time, he says that he has “found none but braggarts or those who stutter when they speak”. All his contemporaries fail when they try to compose more than five or six strophes. “They all try to imitate him in vain and when they steal some of his ideas they distort them horribly” (Nykl 1946:270; Corriente 1980:4).

2 “Wa-laḡad kuntu arā l-nāsa yalhajūna bi-l-mutaqaddimīna” (Corriente 1980:2).

5.2.3 Ṣafīyy al-Dīn al-Ḥillī

The Iraqi al-Ḥillī tells us that the *zajal* derives from the *qaṣīda* and according to his treatise, the *zajal* developed through the operating of four procedures, which are called *taqtīʿ* ("fragmentation"), *tafrīʿ* ("ramification"), *tarṣīʿ* ("incrustation") and *taṣrīʿ* ("division" into hemistichs, tristichs, etc.) (Hoenerbach Arabic text 1956:26). Obviously it will be difficult to give exact definitions of these four technical terms since al-Ḥillī does not give us the necessary precise information. He does give us hint about the development of the *zajal* from the *qaṣīd*. The first stage was, according to al-Ḥillī that the *zajaleers* wrote the so-called *qaṣāʾid muqaṣṣada*, *qaṣīda* in the strict sense, or according to the translation of García Gómez (1961b:311): *casidas encasidadas*. The second step was the *qaṣāʾid zājaliyya*, which differ from the first in the use of colloquial speech. As we can see, for al-Ḥillī the difference between the *zajal* and the *qaṣīd* is merely a linguistic one and he does not give us any useful information about the structure.

Inventors of the zajal according to al-Ḥillī

Al-Ḥillī tells us (Hoenerbach 1956:56; Arabic text:16) that in one tradition Ibn Ġurla was the first to derive the *zajal* from the *muwaṣṣaḥ*. According to others, Yaxlaf b. Rāṣid was the inventor of this genre, and the third name mentioned by al-Ḥillī is Mudḡalīs. According to al-Ḥillī, Mudḡalīs can never have been the inventor, however, because there is a *xarja* of Ibn Quzmān in his *dīwān*, which proves that Mudḡalīs wrote after Ibn Quzmān. According to Nykl (1946:309), this poet wrote in the beginning of the second half of the 12th century and Hoenerbach (1952:86) identified him as a poet who worked during the reign of the Almohad emir Abū Saʿīd ʿUṭmān. Corriente came also to the conclusion (1994:63) that this poet must have lived in the period which is indicated by Nykl. As Stern observed, (1974:170:n.7), Ibn Ġurla could not have been the first to derive the *zajal* from the *muwaṣṣaḥ*. Ibn Ġurla was, as al-Ḥillī himself tells us, a contemporary of the Almohad Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and lived, therefore, after Ibn Quzmān. In spite of these chronological problems, al-Ḥillī tells us explicitly that the *zajal* derived from the *muwaṣṣaḥ*.³

Al-Ḥillī sketches the techniques and historical evolution from the *muwaṣṣaḥ* to the *zajal*, although he does not supply any details concerning authors nor exact dates, and his text contains many obscurities. The first problem is the classification into four groups of the *zajal*. The *zajal* has the

3 We do not know who Ibn Ġurla was. For Ibn Rāṣid see Stern (1951:412-415). Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥājj Madḡallīs (Mudḡalīs, or Madḡallīs) lived in the second half of the 12th century (Nykl 1946:309-311; Hoenerbach & Ritter 1952). For a recent edition of the *azjāl* of Madḡallīs, see Corriente (1994).

following subcategories (Arabic text Hoenerbach 1956:10):

1. *zajal* in the strict sense (love and wine)
2. *bullayq* (comic-obscene)
3. *qarqī* (satirical)
4. *mukaffir*⁴ (irreligious)

It is not very clear why al-Hillī mentioned the *zajal* as the first subcategory of the *zajal*. I think that al-Hillī wanted to describe *tawṣīḥ*-poetry in general and called it *zajal*. The first subcategory probably refers to the strictly colloquial *azjāl*, or *azjāl* 'in the strict sense'.

5.2.4 Tifāṣī

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Šā'ig al-Tujībī al-Andalusī al-Saraqusṭī b. Bājja, better known as Avempace, was born at the end of the 11th century. He was a *wazīr* in 12th century Spain, after the Almoravids conquered Zaragoza in 1110. Later he worked as a *wazīr* for Ibn Tāšufīn in Seville. He was also known as a poet, musician and composer of popular songs. He was murdered by a poisoned fruit provided by a servant in Fās in 1139 (Nykl 1946:251-4). García Gómez quoted a passage of Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-^cAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāṣī (1952b; 1972:II:876)⁵ where Avempace is mentioned as the inventor of the *zajal*. This theory was rejected later by Monroe (1987:25-28:n.12; 1988:56). As stated earlier, the *zajal* was already in use in the age of Aḫṭal b. Numāra about one century before Ibn Quzmān.

5.2.5 Modern theory on the origins. The Arabic thesis and the *tasmīṭ*-debate

Hartmann was the first, as far as I know, who maintained that *tawṣīḥ* poetry is a direct continuation of the procedure of fragmentation (*tasmīṭ*) (Hartmann 1897:111 and 219). This theory was followed up by Nykl (1956:531) and Stern (1974:50-51). García Gómez (1956a:315/ 1956b:406-414) observed that the *muwašṣaḥ* is a hybrid form (a 'centaur'). The architecture of the poem is purely Arabic and could possibly be a development from the *tasmīṭ*. In his opinion, the poem can be explained as a development of Eastern *tasmīṭ*, while the indigenous element is the *xarja*. Wagner (1965:231) also treated the origins of the *muwašṣaḥ*. He affirms that the *muzdawijj*, the proto-type of the *musammaṭ*, has been recorded in the age of Abū Nuwās and he observed that al-Xalīl, the author of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (died 791) must have known the *musammaṭ*, since he included this item in his lexicographic work. He also demonstrated that Abū Nuwās

4 Since this classification of al-Hillī is not based on the formal structure, but rather on content, I shall discuss his classification more in detail in chapter 8 on thematic features

5 Arabic text in Tanjī (1968.114-115).

wrote a *muxammas* which clearly is a development from the *muzdawij*, without common rhyme. This type of poetry can be considered as the proto-*musammaʿ*. If Abū Nuwās was not the author, it must have been written not later than fifty years after his death, because this poem is recorded by Abū Hiffān. The *musammaʿ*-structure, however, has been used in *jāhiliyya*-poetry.

Le Gentil observed (1963a:14) that the *musammaʿ* resembles more the *zajal*-form than the *muwaššah*. He commented that it seems to be logical that the earliest poems must have conserved the original form of the *musammaʿ* and that it is not very likely that later variants share more features with the original *musammaʿ* than the earliest examples. Le Gentil obviously took for granted that the *muwaššah* (9th century) is earlier than the *zajal* (11th century), which is true if we look only to the surviving texts, but this is not indisputable, because the *zajal* could have been much older in an oral tradition, as Monroe suggests (1992:415:n.44).

Jones (1983:55-56) mentions the existence of two *muwaššahāt* in the collection of Ibn Bišrī which have exactly the same structure as the *musammaʿ*. All the lines with common rhyme (*asmāʿ*), including the *xarja*, consist of only one hemistich. Since Ibn Bišrī was an accomplished *waššāḥ* himself, he knew what he was doing when he included these poems in his anthology of *muwaššahāt*. This illustrates the close relationship between the two forms, but it remains unclear why so few Arabic *musammaʿāt* are handed down.

Beltrán (1984:246-247) had some important objections against the theory of the evolution of the *muwaššah* from the *musammaʿ*. The first one is that we do not know whether the first line of the *muwaššah* had the function of a refrain, a fact which cannot be supported by evidence. The second objection is that it cannot be explained satisfactorily why the last line could develop from two different segments (*ba*) to one line with equal segments (*aa*).

Monroe also defends the theory that the *musammaʿ* is essentially different from the *muwaššah* (1982 and 1985/1986:239, n.13; 1992:415:n.48): "The strophic *musammaʿ* could therefore seem to be as closely related, generically speaking, to the *muwaššah* as the puffin is to the penguin". This view is totally contrary to what he said in an earlier publication (1974a:7), that Muqaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Qabrī "adapted the *musammaʿ* of Abū Nuwās to native strophic forms and invented the *muwashshaḥa*". Later, Monroe observed: "Our passage [from Ibn-Bassām] further implies that at least one type of early *muwashshaḥa* was composed of lines made up of two hemistichs, of which the first was unrhymed. This feature is a major characteristic of the predominant compound form of the Romance *zajal* and never of any known type of *musammaʿ*" (1985-1986:37). According to Monroe, the *musammaʿ* is an internal development of the *qaṣīd* and as Beltrán observed

earlier (1984:246), the main difference between the *muwaššah* and the *musammaʿ* is that the latter lacks a true refrain (*maṭlaʿ*).

This is *grosso modo* true, but it should be added that Schoeler (1991a) demonstrated that a *maṭlaʿ*^c “avant la lettre” did exist in the *musammaʿ*, although this occurs sporadically. Monroe does not take into account the great number of *muwaššahāt* which are also lacking a *maṭlaʿ*^c.

The views of Corriente are very well compatible with those of Hartmann and Stern, when he maintains that “No parece, en todo caso, aventurado afirmar que la estructura estrófica del *muwaššah* como entrevió Stern con una fórmula bbbAA, deriva de la del *musammaʿ* (AA bbbAA), que a su vez se explica como un desarrollo del *taṣrīʿ*, o rima interna de los hemistiquios...” (Corriente: 1984:25 and 1991:61).

Also Arab scholars, such as Rikābī (1966:286-287) and Ġāzī (1979:I:5), prefer to explain the creation of the Andalusian *muwaššah* as a pure intra-Arabic literary development which started from the *musammaʿ*.

Recently, Corriente (1992c) commented on a fragment from Ibn Ḥayyān’s *Al-Muqtabis*⁶ which shows the structure and the metrical pattern of a *zajal*. Since this fragment is dated in the year 913, it antedates the first extant *muwaššahāt* by about one century. Unfortunately, the fragment is no longer than three lines. Jones (1993) tried to situate the oldest recorded Arabic *muwaššaha* in the 10th century, as I already observed.

The pre-existence of the xarja in Arabic literature: «Liedabschliessende Zitate» in Abū Nuwās.

Emilio García Gómez already pointed out that Abū Nuwās used a proto-*xarja* in a sort of poem which he denominates a “pre-*muwaššaha*”, with the rhyme scheme of the *musammaʿ* (aaaa bbba ccca etc.). In the ninth and tenth strophes we see a *tamhīd* with the introductory *verbum dicendi* (*tuḡannī*), followed by the strophes 11 to 14, written in direct speech with similar themes to those which are used in the *xarja*. These lines are put into the mouth of a female Baghdadi singer. All these facts leads García Gómez to the conclusion that the poem in question is a prototype for the Andalusian *muwaššah*. Ewald Wagner emphasized the fact that the quotation of an *incipit* of another song in the wine poems (*xamriyyāt*) is not an exceptional phenomenon (1965:293;301; 306 and 307). Jones added to this the fact that “many of the quotations end the poem in an ironic or witty fashion, in a way that is akin to what we find in the *xarja*-s. Abū Nuwās used final quotations (*taḍmīn*) for specific purposes, which are comparable with

6 This source was edited and translated earlier by Viguera and Corriente (1981).

the *muwaššahāt* (Jones 1989:5-6).” There are three cases where a proverb (*maṭal*) or a well-known saying is used as final *taḍmīn*. Abū Nuwās also quoted lines from his own hand, and in Andalusian strophic poetry we see also *muwaššahāt* where the *maṭla*^c is repeated as the *xarja* (cf. Zwartjes 1991a). Two more coincidences are the preference for quoting the *incipit*-s of other poems and the use of a non-Arabic language at the end of his composition, *in concreto* a Persian proverb. Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk also used sporadically Persian for one of his *xarja*-s.

5.3 Conclusion

The process of segmentation, or ‘ramification’, of the lines of the *qaṣīd* could have developed into the *musammaṭ*, which later may have produced the *muwaššah* in al-Andalus. The fact that *xarja*-like quotations are recorded in the East in earlier ages is another important argument in favour of the intra-Arabic theory. The arguments against the *tasmīṭ*-theory are not convincing. The most important argument is the fact that the *musammaṭ* lacks a refrain. On the one hand, as Schoeler demonstrated, some *musammaṭāt* can have a refrain and on the other hand, many *muwaššahāt* also lack a refrain. Beltrán’s view that the function of the refrain of the *muwaššah* cannot be supported by evidence is only true if we consider medieval Arab theoreticians. Indirect evidence can be found in the poetry of al-Šuštārī and the Hebrew manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza. In the latter corpus the *maṭla*^c obviously has the function of the refrain, since after the successive strophes the word *pizmōn* (=‘refrain’) is used and the same term can be found after the *maṭla*^c itself (Stern 1974:16).

6 Early Romance analogous strophic poetry and its structure

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5 I dealt with the theory of the intra-Arabic genesis of the *muwaššaha*. According to this theory, the *muwaššah* is a direct evolution from the *musammaʿ*, which originated in its turn from the *qaṣīd*. The origin of Andalusian strophic forms controversial, as is the question of the *zajal*-like forms in the European literary tradition. To sum up, we can distinguish the following theories concerning the relationship between non-Arabic models and the Andalusian *muwaššah* and the *zajal*:¹

- A. The *muwaššah* and the *zajal* are built on or inspired by non-Arabic literary tradition. The Andalusian invention can only be explained as an adoption of Romance or Iberian *substratum*.
- B. The *muwaššah* and the *zajal* were the models for European *zajal*-like strophic forms. The poets from Occitania took Hispano-Arabic examples and other regions were influenced by the tradition of Occitan poetry.
- C. European *zajal*-like poetry was developed independently from the Andalusian strophic forms.

Firstly I shall describe the non-Arabic analogous poems which are comparable to the Andalusian forms and belong to the Iberian, Romance and Occidental lyrical tradition. I shall describe the most important *formes fixes* of Romance tradition which resemble the Andalusian strophic poems, and finally I shall pay attention to analogous final sections in Romance tradition, such as the *refrain*, *fiinda*, *finida*, *tornada*, *envoi*, *escorraguda*, etc. which correspond with the Andalusian *xarja*. At the end of this chapter (6.4) I shall sum up the criteria of the different theories concerning the origins of these forms.

6.2 Analogous *zajal*-like strophic poems

When we talk about *zajal*-like poetry or analogous forms, we must first define exactly which forms are *zajal*-like and which are not. We must consider both textual structure and musical structure, since the structure of the *zajal* can be found in both. There are poems which do not follow the

1 In this chapter, only the structure and rhyme-schemes of analogous compositions are studied. Thematic correspondences will be discussed in chapter 8.

zajal structure although they have a *zajal*-like musical structure. The term *zajal* itself is used in Hispano-Arabic sources for a strophic poem with a specific structure and linguistic register. In medieval times we sometimes see a confusion between the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*. Ribera y Tarragó introduced the term *zéjel*,² derived from Arabic *zajal*, for the first time in the Castilian language, and this neologism was incorporated in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia* in the edition of 1925 (Morrás 1988:52). This neologism became the usual term for many analogous European strophic forms with different structures, such as the *estrambote*, *fróttale*, *virelai*, *rondel*, *cantiga*, *villancico*, *vilancete*, *lauda*, *ballata*, etc. which all share some common features.³ But we must bear in mind that not always all features are present, since the poets chose to exploit all variants they could invent. When we use the term *zéjel* for all Romance *formes fixes* we risk to put all these different types of strophic poems into one box. Another problem arises when we use the Spanish term *zéjel* for the Hispano-Arabic poems, because we might confuse Romance features of the *zajal*-like analogous forms with the Hispano-Arabic *zajal*. The term *zajal*-like (Spanish *zejelesco*), therefore, is more accurate. If a poem has all the features of the *zajal*, it has a prelude which is simultaneously the refrain. This prelude determines the common rhyme of the poem which will be repeated in all the strophes. Every strophe consists of two sections, except the prelude. The first section has the characteristic monorhymed section of three lines and the second section rhymes with the prelude. In this chapter I use the following Spanish terms, since the Arabic terms can lead to confusion as I demonstrated above. I use the term *mudanza* for the monorhymed tripartite section (simple or composed) of the strophe, *vuelta* for the line(s) or hemistich(s) which follow immediately after the *mudanza* and share the common rhyme in all strophes. In these *vueltas* we can see the complete rhyme-scheme of the opening strophe and sometimes we see only one segment of the opening strophe. If the poem opens with lines with common rhyme, which are repeated in these *vueltas*, the poem has a *cabeza*, with the function of a refrain (*estribillo*). Every *vuelta* has the same rhyme word as the *cabeza* or repeats only a part of this initial rhyme scheme.

2 Corriente states that the correct Spanish orthography is *cejel* with the stress on the last syllable (Corriente 1986c:19).

3 For example, sometimes the *preludio-estribillo* is missing and in other cases the *vuelta*.

Example:

Que todos se pasan en flores,
Mis amores. } Cabeza + Estribillo

Las flores que an nascido
Del tiempo que os he servido,
Derribolas uestro oluido] Mudanza

Y disfauores. Vuelta

Que todos se pasan en flores,
Mis amores.₄ } Estribillo

Variants, which are still to be regarded as *zajal*-like forms:

- The prelude or refrain is missing
- The refrain is not written as prelude but at the end of the poem
- The refrain is written as prelude and also at the end⁵
- The *vuelta* repeats only part of the prelude and not the full rhyme scheme
- The *vuelta* repeats the full rhyme scheme of the prelude
- The *vuelta* forms a part of the refrain. Not only the rhyme scheme of the refrain is repeated, but the whole text
- A final section is appended which has the common rhyme
- The lines of the *mudanza* are divided into hemistichs or into more than two sections, so that internal rhyme is used
- The lines of the *vuelta* have internal rhyme
- *Mudanzas* and *vueltas* have both internal rhyme

All these variants have been recorded also in Andalusian Arabic and Hebrew poetry. As far as I know, the variant of a missing *vuelta* (i.e. poems with strophes with alternation of the refrain and a tripartite monorhymed section), is not known in the Andalusian forms, so that we do not consider such forms *zajal*-like. The *vuelta* is an essential part of the Hispano-Arabic *zajal* and *muwaššah*. *Mudanzas* normally consist of three monorhymed sections. In both European and Andalusian examples, variants are recorded with two or four lines. Both are still *azjāl* or *zajal*-like forms, as long as they have a *vuelta*.

4 El Cancionero de Uppsala, n° XII (Riosalido 1983:46).

5 See Wulstan (1982:248).

6.2.1 Late-Latin

The *responsorium* and *antiphon*, the *versus tripartitus caudatus*, the *sequentiae* all lack the recurrence of the common rhyme at the end of each strophe, so that such forms are not to be regarded as *zajal*-like forms (Fiore 1964:10:n.4). Another type found in the popular Provençal tradition is the tripartite monorhymed strophe followed by a unisonant ending, which serves as a refrain. The following Latin poem belongs to this category:

[*Verbum caro factum est*
de Virgine Maria]

In hoc anni circulo
vita datur seculo,
nato nobis parvulo
de Virgine Maria.

Fons de suo rivulo
nascitur pro populo,
fracto mortis vinculo
de Virgine Maria.

Quod vetustas suffocat,
hoc ad vitam revocat;
nam se Deus collocat
*de Virgine Maria. [etc.]*⁶

This poem shares some features with the *zajal* and has only the recurring second line of the initial strophe with common rhyme after each strophe. In most Hispano-Arabic *azjāl* the *vuelas* only rhyme with the prelude; normally we do not see the repetition of exactly the same line or hemistich. Another 'irregular' feature is the recurrence of the same rhyme in the first two *mudanzas* (circulo-seculo- parvulo and rivulo- populo- vinculo). Usually the *mudanzas* do not rhyme with each other.⁷

The *rondellus* is a Late-Latin form which may share features with the *zajal*-like compositions. The *rondellus* is a Latin variant of the *rondeau*, which will be discussed below. The *rondellus* was probably an ecclesiastical ring-dance which took place within the Christian Church (Stevens 1986:179). Singers and dancers concluded their psalms with refrains. In the

6 Roncaglia 1949 67-71 This poem dates from the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris ms lat 1139) The poem 'Mei amic e mei fiel/ Laisat estar lo gazel:/ Apendet u so noel/ *De Virgine Maria*' is built upon the Latin prototype Cf. Bartsch and Koschwitz *Chrestomathie provençale* Marburg, 1904, c. 19, and Fiore (1964 11).

7 Of course, it is impossible to determine which poems are 'regular' or 'irregular', since a Romance or Latin *poetica* has not been handed down from the period in question I used the term 'irregular' since this variant is not frequently recorded in medieval poetry

12th and 13th centuries it was not a fixed form, but refrain-lines were an essential feature. As Stevens pointed out (1986:181), the *rondellus* is not completely analogous to the French *rondeau* but the *rondellus* was often written as *contrafacta* to French songs of the *rondeau*-type.⁸ Some were written in the *virelai*-form, which will be discussed later. One of the existing variants shows the scheme aaabab, which must be considered *zajal*-like. The *Llibre Vermell* of Montserrat, which dates from the 14th century, is an important source for this Latin form. It is noteworthy that this collection also includes Catalan vernacular compositions.

6.2.2 Provençal (Occitan) and Old-French

One of the earliest extant *zajal*-like poems from France is the following anonymous *aube*, which was possibly written by Gace Brulé (1159-1212). An *aube* is a poem where the sorrow of lovers parting at dawn is described:

Quant voi l'aube du jour venir,
Nulle rien ne doi tant haïr;
Qu'elle fait de moi departir
Mon ami que j'aim par amour
Or ne hé rien tant com le jour,
Ami, qui me depart de vous.

Je ne vous puis de jour voir,
Car trop redout l'apercevoir,
Et si vous di trestout pour voir
Qu'en agait sont li envious.
Or ne hé rien tant com le jour,
Ami, qui me depart de vous.

...

Or pri à tous les vrais amans
Ceste chançon voient chantant
Ens en despit des mesdisans
Et des mauvais maris jalous:
«Or ne hé rien tant com le jour,
Amis, qui me depart de vous.»

This poem opens with a *mudanza*; a prelude is missing ('acephalous'). The *mudanza* is followed by a *vuelta* which rhymes with the recurring refrain. Just as most *muwaššahāt*, the poem has five strophes, and the fifth strophe has a *verbum dicendi* (Ceste chançon voient chantant) where the final refrain in direct speech is introduced.

8 The phenomenon of *contrafactum* (*contrahechura*) is comparable to the Arabic *mu'ārada*. It is a song, or vocal part, to which a new set of words has been fitted, normally with precise syllabic equivalence (Stevens 1986:506).

The rotrouenge

The *rotrouenge*⁹ is a medieval French and Provençal dance-song, with so many variants that this genre cannot easily be described. It is a very ancient form. It was widely used in the days of the poet Wace in the middle of the 12th century and it was contemporary to the earliest *Chansons de geste*, and some decades earlier than the *chançons* of the *Trouvères* (Gennrich 1925:13), which will be discussed later. The *rotrouenge* is a dance-song with a refrain, but the refrain is sometimes lacking. Many examples share the characteristic structure of the *rondeau*, and others are similar to the *chançon*. Among the many variants, the *zajal*-like scheme has been recorded, as the following example illustrates:

Chanter m'estuet de recomens.
quant l'ore est doche et clers li vens;
et nonpourquant si sui dolens,
 Oiés por quoi!
Quant cele a qui sui atendants
ne velt avoir merchi de moi.

Molt aim ma dame et voil et pri,
mais d'une cose m'a traï:
quant li paroïl, si m'entr'obli;
 Oiés pour quoi!
Tant par desir l'amor de li
ke tous sui fous quant je la voi....
(Gennrich 1925:16)

The poem has five strophes. The musical structure is:

$\alpha^1 \alpha^2 \alpha^3 \beta \gamma \delta$

The text has a *zajal*-like structure, which has the scheme:

a a a B a b.

It is remarkable that the refrain is situated between the *mudanza* and the *vuelta*.¹⁰

The estornel

Another *forme fixe* is the *estornel* which can also be *zajal*-like. I quote a

9 Variants: *rotroensa*, *rotruange*, *rottruenge*, *retruenge*, *rotunga*, *rotrucl*, *rotwange*, *rotrowange*, *retrowange*, *rotelenge*, Prov. *retroncha*. I cannot describe all possible structures and musical and textual rhyme schemes in this context. I only want to pay attention to some *zajal*-like poems. For more detailed information, see Gennrich (1925).

10 Another *rottruenge*, published by Gennrich (1925:30-31), is a poem with five strophes, *mudanza*, with internal rhyme, followed by a refrain which has also internal rhyme. However, a *vuelta* is lacking and the structure of the text is aa aa aa/BB, so that this example is not considered to be *zajal*-like.

composition of Marcabrun:

Sobr'una branca florida
Lo francx auzels brai e crida:
Tant ha sa votz esclarzida,
Qu'ela n'a auzit l'entensa.

L'us declui,
Lai s'esdai
Truesc'a lui
«Auzels sui»,
Ditz: - «Per cui
Fas tal brui
Ho cals amors tensa?

Fiore (1964:11) demonstrated that in this poem an introductory strophe is lacking. The poem opens with a *mudanza*, followed by a *vuelta*. In the second strophe the *mudanza* has not three but six lines, followed by a *vuelta*. The final section is introduced by a *verbum dicendi* (*ditz*).

The rondeau (rondel)

Another strophic form in France is the *rondeau*, *rondel*, *rondelet* or *rondet*.¹¹ This fixed form was a dance-song, just as the *carol*. Although secular Latin *rondeaux* are known, there are no ecclesiastical prototypes, so that the origins must not be sought in the Church (Spanke 1929:113). The characteristic feature of the *rondeau* is the recurring first phrase of a two-line refrain in the mid-stanza (AB aA ab AB).¹² A soloist chooses a text and puts the words into the melodic structure of a well-known *refrain*, which is repeated by a chorus (Gennrich 1932:61-64). A *rondel* consists normally of three strophes with fourteen lines with two different rhymes, and a recurring rhyme scheme of the opening line in the middle and in the last line (Kayser 1948:94). A variation is a *rondeau* with the repetition of one line of the introductory strophe as the second line of each strophe. King Alfonso X the Wise used the *rondeau* extensively in his *cantigas*, which will be discussed below.

The regular musical structure of the *rondeau* is *zajal*-like:

$\alpha \beta // \alpha \alpha \alpha \beta \alpha \beta$

I must observe that the text does not follow always the rhyme scheme of the *zajal*, in other words: the music and the text are asymmetrical (Genn-

11 The exact boundaries between these subcategories cannot be established, as happens with *chançons*, *chançonetes*, *cançons*, and many other technical terms from this period.

12 The proto-type was probably a a b a B A, according to Verrier: *Les vers français*, Paris, 1931-1932, *apud* Balke (s.a.:83).

rich 1932:67).

Many variants are known and internal rhyme is frequently used, which generated more complicated structures. An example of a *rondet*, a variant of the *rondeau*, is the following poem of Adam de la Halle:

Hareu, li maus d'amer
 M'ochist!
 Il me fait désirer,
 Hareu, li maus d'amer:
Par un douch regarder
 Me prist.

Hareu, li maus d'amer
 M'ochist! (Fiore 1964:12).

This poem opens with a prelude-refrain. The first strophe has a *mudanza* of three lines, followed by a *vuelta*. The poem closes with the same opening refrain. It is not a frequent feature that the *mudanza* rhymes with the first line of the common rhyme, since *mudanzas* have normally independent rhyme, as I said above.

The dansa

The oldest documented *dansa* was written between 1217 and 1253 by Uc de Sant Circ. Since the middle of the 13th century, other troubadours, such as Guiraut d'Espanha, Cerverí de Girona and Paulet de Marselha began to use the *dansa* in their repertoire (Beltrán 1984:248). The first *dansa* is called *danseta* ('*Una danseta voil far*') and lacks a *vuelta*, so that this type is not *zajal*-like. Beltrán observed that this form is actually a *cansó ab refranh*. However, some variants of the *dansa* follow the scheme of the *zajal*, showing a tripartite monorhymed *mudanza*, followed by a *vuelta* with a shorter line than the lines of the *mudanza* and a refrain is appended. Beltrán gives the following scheme of the *dansa*:

$$\left(\begin{array}{ccccccc} A & A & // & b & b & b & / a \\ \alpha_1 & \alpha_2 & // & \beta_1 & \beta_2 & / \alpha_1 & \alpha_2 \end{array} \right)$$

The virelai

The term *virelai* is derived from vulgar Latin *virare*, *virer*, recorded for the first time in 1275. The term can be related to a musical cyclus or a dance.¹³ The *virelai* appeared in Europe later than the *rondeau* around 1230 (Beltrán 1984:251; Le Gentil 1963a:241), and this type of strophic poetry can be found in the *Roman de la Rose* or the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* of

13 We see the same concept of a circle in the Arabic term *dawr*, which is used for strophe and sometimes for only a part of the strophe. The Arabic term *dawr* covers also the idea of a circle, just as the *rondeau-rondel*.

Jean Renart. All these poems consist of only one strophe so that the exact definition of the refrain is problematic and the boundaries between *rondeau* and *virelai* are not always exactly distinguishable.¹⁴ The earliest poets who used this form are Jeannot de Lescurel (1303) and Guillaume d'A-miens. It is remarkable that the form disappeared for some centuries and reappeared in the 15th century. The most frequently used structure of the *virelai* is as follows:

AA// b b b/ a and: AB// c c c /b

Not many melodies survived, but Beltrán gives the following two possibilities:

A B // c c / c b

α β // γ δ / α β (*rondeau*)

A A // b b b / a

α₁ α₂ // β β γ / α₂ (*romance*)

Many *virelais* follow the structure of the *rondeau*, others resemble the *ballata*, which will be discussed later. Beltrán (1984:255) observed that the *zajal*-like forms of the *virelai* are connected with simpler popular poems, while the *romance*-type is used more exclusively for the more complicated poems of the troubadours and *trouvères*.

6.2.3 Galaico-portuguese *cantigas*

The tripartite *mudanza* with *vuelta* appears in the Galaico-portuguese poetry in the beginning of the 13th century, starting with Pay Soarez de Taveirós. In the first half of the same century we find poems with such a structure in the collections of Ayras Perez Vuytoron, Fernan Paez de Tamalancos and Fernan Rodriguez de Calheyros. The apogee lies in the reigns of King Alfonso X the Wise (1252-1284) of Castilla and Alfonso III of Portugal (1248-1279) (Beltrán 1984: 256), followed by Dom Denis, King of Portugal, Ayras Nunes, Ayras Paez, Estevam da Guarda and Pero de Barcia. The generic term for these songs is *cantiga*, which can be classified in the *cantigas de amor*, *cantigas d' amigo* and *cantigas de escarnho e maldizer*. Of the last category about half has been composed conform the *zajal*-structure (Beltrán 1984:256).

King Alfonso X the Wise composed most of his *cantigas de Santa María* according to the *zajal*-like structure. Not only the text can have a *zajal*-like structure, but also the musical structure can follow this scheme.¹⁵ These *cantigas* normally have a refrain, in most cases of one or two lines, and

14 Gennrich introduces the hybrid terms *virelai-artiges Rondeau* and *rondeau-artiges Virelai* (Gennrich 1932:69).

15 Anglés (1958: n^{os} 8, 86, 88, 96 and 115, pp. 393-394); Le Gentil (1963a:246).

internal rhyme can be used. The prelude-refrain is followed by an undetermined number of strophes. The simplest form consists of four lines; the characteristic monorhymed section of three lines, and a fourth line with rhymes with the opening prelude-refrain. The scheme is as follows:

AA// bbba/ AA//ccca/ AA// etc.

An example of a more complex *cantiga* is the following structure:

ABAB// cdcdcd/ cd// ABAB...

Sometimes the entire rhyme scheme of the refrain is repeated:

AAB AAB// ccd ccd/ aab aab/ AAB AAB¹⁶

The latter example is a variation of the basic scheme, but it should be noticed that here the tripartite section of the *mudanza* has disappeared.

I quote the following *cantiga*:

Sempre seja beeita et loada
Santa Maria, a noss' avogada!

Maravilloso miragre d'oir
vos quer eu ora contar sen mentir
de como fez o diabre fogir
De Roma a Virgen de Deus amada

Sempre seja beeita et loada
Santa Maria, a noss' avogada

Textual structure: Estribillo-mudanza-vuelta-estribillo:

AA// bbba/ AA

Musical structure:

$\alpha \beta // \gamma \gamma / \alpha \beta // \alpha \beta$ ¹⁷

16 Schemes from Le Gentil (1949-1953:II:210-211).

17 Example from Le Gentil (1949-1953:II:211), Ed. Anglès nº17.

6.2.4 Italian and Sicilian

For 250 years, Sicily was under Muslim control. This period ended when the Normans invaded the island, but Arabic cultural predominance did not disappear, as is illustrated by the fact that all the Norman Kings knew Arabic and in 1189 Arabic was still one of the three official languages in Sicily. The court of Frederick II and Manfred was dominated by Arabic influence in customs, court etiquette and in artistic interests (Fiore 1964:6; Schack 1865-79:II:44).

The Tuscan lauda

Menéndez Pidal already pointed out that the *zajal*-like poems were also very popular in Italy. He states that the first known testimony of the *zajal*-like strophe in Italy is of the poet Fra Jacopone da Todi (1236-1306). Menéndez also demonstrated that they appear later in Italy than in France and Spain. The reason for this difference is, according to Menéndez Pidal, the oral nature of these poems (Menéndez Pidal 1941¹; 1973:45-46). In the *Laudario* of Fra Jacopone da Todi we find 52 compositions (*laude*) of the 102 poems with a *zajal*-like structure.¹⁸ These poems have all elements of the Hispano-Arabic *zajal*, i.e. introductory strophe, monorhymed trystichon with a fourth recurring line which rhymes with the introductory refrain, and the repetition after each strophe of the initial refrain. Fiore, using the publication of Bertoni,¹⁹ criticized the thesis of Menéndez Pidal, and put forward the theory that the earliest lyrics in Tuscany were songs in praise of the Holy Virgin, and their existence in Tuscany goes back at least to the 11th century (Fiore 1964:10). One of the oldest examples is the following *lauda* from the *Laudario di Pisa*.²⁰

*Ave vergene gaudente
Madre de l'onnipotente

Lo signor per maraviglia
De te feice madre e figlia
Rosa bianca e vermiglia
Sovr'ogl'altro fiore aulente.*

...

Fiore demonstrated that this rhyme sequence does not occur in Middle Latin lyric, nor is it found anywhere else in Europe prior to the Tuscan *lauda*.

18 Beltrán found 54 poems of the *zajal*-like structure with tripartite *mudanza* and a shorter *vuelta*, three poems with shorter *vuelta* but with bipartite *mudanza* and eleven with tripartite *mudanza* and a complete *vuelta*, comparable to the *muwaššah* (1984:159).

19 Bertoni: *Il Duecento*, third edition, p. 224, *apud* Fiore (1964:10).

20 Ed. Staaff, Uppsala, 1931, *apud* Fiore (1964).

The frottola

The *frottola* dates from a later period than the *lauda* and is another *zajal*-like form. They were recorded in Venice, for example the following *frottola* by Ottavio Petrucci in 1505:

Deh fosse la qui mecho
Colei ch'al cor mio secho

La man li ocheria
E lieto li diria
Tu sei la diva mia
*Che tien el mio cor secho.*²¹

The ballata

The *ballata* dates also from a later period than the *lauda* (Fiore 1964:14). In the 14th century, the French *ballade* designates one of the three *formes fixes* (the others are *virelai* and *rondeau*). It has the structure AAAB and usually contains a final refrain. The oldest known *ballata* is the following poem which dates from 1302:

A mala morte mora lo çeloso
Ch'à lo viso crudele e doloroso.

E lo çeloso è pien de çelosia
Sença chason bate la dona mia:
Che l posa prender la parlasia
*Tal che lui faça tristo e mi çuioso.*²²

...

Boccaccio also incorporated in his Decameron (V,10) *ballatas* which represent exactly the genuine *zajal*-form *aa-bbba ccca ddda*.

The strambotto

The term *strambotto* is recorded for the first time in the poems of Leonardo Giustiniani (1388-1446); this form will be described in 6.2.6.

6.2.5 Catalan

In Catalu a, the *goigs* (from Lat. *gaudia*; cf. Prov. *gautz* or *gaug*; Cast. *gozo*), which are songs in praise of the Virgin Mary, share many features with the Proven al *dansa* and the *balada*, which is called *ball redon* in Catalu a (Pag s 1936:202). The earliest author of dance-songs in Catalu a is Cerver  de Girona between 1250 and 1280, and such songs are called *dan a*, *dan a balada*, or *sirventes dan a*, all with the use of a refrain and

21 Barbieri: *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, Madrid, 1890:79, n  LXXVIII, *apud* Fiore (1964:15).

22 Fiore (1964:14).

some also have a *tornada* (= *vuelta*),²³ although these *tornadas* are not present in every strophe and they are not all symmetrical.²⁴ The *zajal*-like structure is employed by Cerverí de Girona in a poem which he calls *dança balada*, as the following example:

*Pus no vey leys cuy son amics,
Amors, di.l que de mi.l soveyna.
No la vey, si vey de jay rics,
[Pus no vey leys cuy son amics],
Malgrat de fals gelos enics,
[Pus no vey leys cuy son amics];
Pessan, doncs, Sens, no m'en chastics,
Que no.m tem c'om d'ayço.m destreyna.
[Pus no vey leys cuy son amics,
Amors, di.l que de mi.l soveyna]...*²⁵

As we see, this poem has a *zajal*-like structure. It opens with a refrain and the strophes consist of a *mudanza* of three lines with independent rhyme. It is remarkable that the refrain must be repeated after every line of the *mudanza*. After the *mudanza* follows the *vuelta* which recapitulates the rhyme-scheme of the refrain. As Monferrer and Barreda observed, many *goigs* resemble the *zajal* (1985:214).

6.2.6 Castilian²⁶

The estrambote (estribote, estrybote, strambotto)

The oldest documented poems which are called *estribote* are the *Gozos de Santa María* of the *Libro de Buen Amor* of Juán Ruiz, arcipreste de Hita (stanzas 20-32), the *troba cazurra de Cruz Cruzada* (115-120) and the two songs of stanzas 1650-1660 (Cid 1991:61-62). The *Cancionero de Baena* contains four poems called *estribotes* (Lang 1918-1919:398). The *estribote* is a song composed in an archaic mould of the *cantiga* with a *zajal*-like rhyme-scheme aa: bbba, and it has the function of a sequence or conclusion to another song. In the *Carta al Condestable de Portugal* (1446-1449), the Marqués de Santillana uses the term *estrinbote* for a specific type of poem.²⁷ The terms *estribo* and *estribillo* are closely connected with the *estribote*, *estrambote*, sometimes called *estrabot* (Clarke 1952:339). All these poems share the common feature of having an initial strophe with the function of a refrain. The *estribo* is the base which determines the rhyme-scheme of the rest of the poem. Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino,

23 Also called *torna*, which can also mean 'refrain' (*estribillo*), in particular of the *seguidilla* or *copla* (Clarke 1952:368).

24 For instance, the *dança* published by Pagès (1936:204-5).

25 Example from Pagès (1936:206-207).

26 For a very useful survey of the *zajal* in Castille, see Morrás (1988).

27 "Vsó vna manera de dezir cantares así commo çénicos plautinos e terençianos, tan bien en estrinbotes commo en serranas" (López Estrada 1984:60).

one of the poets whose poems have been collected in the *Cancionero de Baena*, wrote poems with a *zajal*-like structure, denominating them *estrybotes*.

The desfecha

Villasandino used the term *estrybote* for his *desfechas*, poems appended to another poem as a concluding section, an *envoi* (Lang 1918-1919:398), i.e. a summary or conclusion of another poem (cf. Clarke 1952:333). Lang distinguishes three classes of the *desfecha*:

- 1 The first consists of one or more final stanzas of a given composition, as indicated by Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino in his *dezir mayor*.²⁸
- 2 The second is represented by a song in honor of the Virgin.
- 3 The third is identical in structure with the *estribote*.

Juan del Encina uses the term *deshecha* as a synonym for *villancico*, because he introduces a series of poems with the title *Romances y canciones con sus deshechas*, and all these *deshechas* appear to have the structure of the *villancico*, to be discussed below.

The estrambote

The term *estrambote* is also used for the concluding strophe with humorous content which is connected to the preceding strophe through the recurring rhyme scheme (Bleiberg 1953²:257). In the *soneto* the *estrambote* can be appended.²⁹ Another term for the *estrambote* is *cola*.

The dezir (deçir)

The *dezir* was a poem of *coplas de arte menor*, rhyming independently, with an occasional short strophe whose rhyme was either independent of the other strophes or dependent on the rhyme of the preceding strophe, as in the *estribillo* (Clarke 1952:332).

The seguidilla

The Castilian *seguida* is derived from the Portuguese *seguir*. It is a song which adopted the melody of another song and it is used specifically for the conclusion of a composition, like the *estribote*, *desfecha*, and *finida*. The earliest description of the *seguir* can be found in the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* (1949:18; Filgueira 1984; Manero 1975:418-9). Sometimes the diminutive *seguidilla* is used, but this term has another meaning in later periods. The refrain (*estribillo*) of the *seguidilla*, or *copla* is also called *tornada*.

28 Azáceta: *Cancionero de Baena*, nº 202.

29 Cf. the *soneto* by Cervantes: Vide Dios, que me espanta esta grandeza...

The siguiriyas (seguirillas) of the cante jondo

In the practice of Iberian music, we find the term *seguirilla*, derived from *seguida*. In early *cante jondo*, which probably is the source of *flamenco*, the connection of different sections (two *tonás* or *tonadas* put together) which are sung in a different key after a series. In this section a transition is made from the "sad *coda* to a vigorous *cabaletta*, which is called *macho*, designed to give an assertive rather than virtuoso flourish to the ending" (Thompson 1985:72). This practice is called *siguiriya cambiada* or *cambio de siguiriyas*, which is a switch to another passage or to another song. As Thompson observed, "some of these *cambios* were so impressive that they soon became songs in their own right" (1985:72).

The villancico and mote

The *villancico* is a so-called 'closed form', which can be introduced by an initial strophe which has also the function of a refrain. Very characteristic for the *villancico* is the incongruence between the metrical and musical structure. The recurring rhyme-scheme is not conform to the musical pattern, but deviant structures to the main pattern are also documented. The basic scheme is as follows:³⁰

	text	music
estribillo	a	α
	a	β
mudanza	b	γ
	b	γ
	b	α
vuelta	a	β
(estribillo)	(a)	(α)
	(α)	(β)

As we see, the structure is exactly the same as the *cantiga* by King Alfonso I quoted earlier. The Marqués de Santillana called one of his own compositions also a *villancico*, and this is the oldest reference for this term,³¹ although the poem in question is not a real *villancico*. It is a poem in which refrains are quoted of well-known popular songs.

30 For more details about the *villancico*, see Frenk Alatorre (1970; 1980; 1982 and 1991), and Sánchez Romeralo (1969).

31 López Estrada (1984:56).

The term *villancico* must be connected to the textual and the musico-melodic structure as well. It is one of the most popular forms of Spanish secular music since the Renaissance, but its origins can be traced to the Middle Ages. The rhyme schemes can vary considerably. The music of the *villancico* can be *a capella*, or with instrumental accompaniment, but the alternation of both is also very common. One of the oldest definitions of the *villancico* can be found in the *Arte de Poesía Castellana* of Juan del Encina, written in 1496:

muchas vezes vemos que algunos hazen solo vn pie, y aquel ni es verso ni copla, porque avían de ser pies y no solo vn pie, ni ay allí consonante pues que no tiene compañero. y aquel tal suélese llamar *mote*. Y si tiene dos pies, llamámosle también *mote* o *villancico* o *letra de alguna invención*, por la mayor parte. Si tiene tres pies enteros o el vno quebrado también será *villancico* o *letra de invención*; y entonces el vn pie ha de quedar sin consonante según más común uso; y algunos ay del tienpo antiguo de dos pies y de tres que no van en consonante porque entonces no guardavan tan estrechamente las osservaciones del trobar. Y si es de quatro pies puede ser canción, y ya se puede llamar *copla*;... (López Estrada 1984:90).

In 1592, Juan Díaz Rengifo describes the *villancico* in his *Arte Poética Española* as follows:

Los pies de cada Villancico de ordinario han de ser seys. Los dos primeros se llaman primera Mudança, y los dos siguientes, Segunda Mudança: porque en ellos se varia, y muda la sonada de la Cabeça. A los dos postreros llaman Buelta: porque en ellos se buelve al primer tono, y tras ellos se repite el vno, o los versos vltimos de la Represa.

The *villancico* was also used for religious texts and in Spain, they could be heard until the 19th century in the church, and in some regions of Latin America, even until today.

The glosa and the retruécano (or: texto)

The *glosa* is a continuation of a short poem or stanza of one, two or four lines, called *texto*, or *retruécano*. Such lines are the '*estribo*', the base and starting point of the poem. A detailed description of the *glosa* is also given by Juan Díaz Rengifo in his *Arte Poética Española* (1592: Cap. XXXVI: 41):

Delas Glossas: Proponese primeramente vn texto, o retruécano (que assi le llaman algunos Poetas) de vno, o dos, o quatro versos, mas o menos, como quisiere el que le pone; el qual encierre algun concepto agudo, y sentencioso, y lleue tales consonantes, que se puedan hallar otros.

The tenor of the *glosa* can be either serious or 'graceful':

Suelen las Glossas, quando son perfectas, dar particular contento, y no solo quando se glossan cosas graues, pero aun quando el Texto es de algun dicho gracioso. Y assi en carteles famosos para que aya variedad, que entretenga, y recree, se proponen themas y textos deste jacz....

The glosa de mote

In the *glosa de mote* the final line of the strophe repeats the rhyme of the initial verse of the poem, for example:

Es demas mereçedora

Sobre muerte me days muerte,
sobre engaño mas engaño,
sobre pena, pena fuerte,
sobre daño, mayor daño;
sobre perdida, perder,
pero todo me es plazer,
porque vuestro mereçer

*es demas mereçedora.*³²

The finida

The earliest documentation of the term *finida*, or *fiinda* (*fijnda*) in its Portuguese form is the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* (1949:24 Cap. iv). The passage is as follows:

As *fijndas* som *cousa* que os trobadores sempre husaron de poer en acabamento das sas cantigas, pera concludiren e acabaren melhor e[n] elas as rrazones que disseron nas cantigas, chamando lhis *fiinda*, porque quer tanto diz[er] come acabamento de rrazon. E esta *fijnda* podem fazer de ha, ou de duas, ou de tres, ou de quatro palauras. E se for a cantiga de meestria, deue a *fiinda* rrimar com a prestumeyra cobra, e se for de rrefram deue de rrimar com o rrefran.³³

In the Provençal poems, the *finida* is usually called *tornade* and in the Portuguese poems *finda*, or *finda*. This final section has the function of a conclusion, but later it can have the function of an *envoi* if the poem is dedicated to a protector or a maecenas or a Lady. Normally there is no shift of focus, because the poet addresses his words to the person to whom he dedicates his poem. In some Catalan texts from the 14th century, this

32 From Rennert's *Cancionero of the British Museum*, n°229, *apud* Clarke (1948:155). For more details about the *glosa*, see also Frenk (1958b).

33 Cf. Michaëlis (1904:II:661).

section is called *endressa*. This section normally repeats the rhyme of the preceding strophe, not necessarily the common rhyme, although in the *cantigas de refram* this section must follow the common rhyme scheme of the refrain. The *fiinda* can also be an entire independent strophe of the poem. The old Galician *fiinda* is not an *envoi*, but always a conclusion of the poem (Le Gentil 1949-1953:II:170).³⁴ It is interesting that sometimes, the *finida* can be written in another language.³⁵

The refrain

Stevens (1986:171-2) observed that the term *refrain* has a special meaning in the period from 1150-1350. It is a sort of "courtly aphorism, a love-tag, or an amorous proverb, usually with a melody attached to it". Such lines do not necessarily have an obvious connection with the rest of the poem and some of them enjoyed an independent existence. The second meaning of *refrain* is the ordinary meaning, being a part of the strophe which is common to all the strophes. We see that the *refrain* shares some features with the *xarja*, although the latter is not a *refrain* in the strict sense.³⁶

The escorraguda

Finally I wish to discuss the closing section of the earliest known *romance* ("La gentil dama y el rústico pastor") from the Iberian Peninsula. At the end of this *romance*, a section called *escorraguda* is appended, which is analogous to the *xarja*. The poem was written by Jaume de Olesa and the manuscript dates from 1421. It opens with the lines:

Gentil dona, gentil dona,
dona de bell parasser,
los pes tjgo en la verdura
esperando este plazer.

...

The poem closes by an *escorraguda*:

Mal mj quero mestre gil/ e fazelo
con dretxo/ bien mj que[re]
su muger/ qujm etxa en
en son letxo. (López Estrada 1984:266)

This Catalan closing section resembles the *finida*. Among terms used for

34 Other comparable sections are the *remate*, which is the final verse of a strophe or a short strophe at the end of a poem, and the *commiato*, *despido*, *envío*, *ripressa*, and *ritornelo*. "El Remate es vna estancia pequeña... Buelta ò Retornelo, en que el Poeta al fin de la Cancion habla con ella, ò notandola de alguna falta, que lleva, ò excusandola, ò diziendola lo que ha de responder, si la pusieron tal, ò tal tacha" (Rengifo 1592: Chapter LXXXVI).
35 Ed. Azáqueta: *Cancionero de Baena*, n° 182. See also n° 178: "en bon llog gitao la rred".
36 This is reflected in the etymology of the Spanish word *refrán*, which means 'proverb', and not 'refrain' (Sp. *estribillo*) from Occ. 'refranh', cf. Arabic *maṭal*.

the final section there is no exact equivalent of the Arabic term *xarja*, which means 'exit', and not final part, *finida*, nor *returning part*, as the Arabic *rujūʿ*³⁷ or Spanish *vuelta*.³⁷ The word *escoraguda* in Catalan (Cast. *escurridura*) is the only candidate for a possible translation for the Arabic word *xarja*, because in Catalan *escorregar* and *escórrer* means, among other things, 'L'eixida de l'aigua',³⁸ 'sortir una cosa del seu lloc'.³⁹ The reflexive form means 'sortir una cosa del seu lloc anant al llarg d'una altra cosa o passant d'un lloc a un altre sense solució de continuïtat'.⁴⁰ In the word *escoraguda* the idea of an 'exit' is reflected and in this *romance* the function of the *escoraguda* is very well compatible with the function of the *xarja*.

6.3 The structure of the Romance parallels and Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry

After having treated the most important *zajal*-like strophes of the Romance tradition, I want to compare these strophic forms with the structure of Hispano-Arabic poetry, in particular the collection '*Uddat al-Jalīs*' (Jones 1992) for the *muwaššah* and the *dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān for the *zajal* (Corriente 1980).

6.3.1 Analogies

We have seen above that all variants of the Hispano-Arabic *zajal* and *muwaššah* can be traced in the Romance literary tradition. All components of these strophic forms are found there as well.

The prelude

It has been put forward that the prelude in Romance poetry can have the same function as it has in Hispano-Arabic poetry.⁴¹ The opening lines are an indication for the recurring pattern of the common rhyme which must be repeated at the end of each strophe. Romance poetry shares with Hispano-Arabic poetry the option to omit such a prelude. In Hispano-Arabic poetry the prelude (*maṭlaʿ*) is obligatory in the *zajal*, and can be omitted in the *muwaššah*, so that the poem is called acephalous (*aqraʿ*). The fact that such a poem does not have an indication for the rhyme scheme is not sufficiently explained, but possibly the musico-rhythmical

37 The Arabic synonym for *xarja* is *markaz* and this term does have its equivalent in Romance language (lit. 'base', 'support', cf. *estribo*, *estribillo*, etc.).

38 Grier: *Tresor de la llengua, de les tradicions de la Cultura popular de Catalunya*, Vol. VI, Ed. Balmes, Barcelona, 1935 (1968^c:201).

39 Pompeu Fabra: *Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana*. A. López Llausàs. Barcelona, 1932¹ (1968^c:754).

40 Antoni Alcover: *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*. Vol. V. Palma de Mallorca (1953:294).

41 I discussed the function of the *maṭlaʿ* in the poetry of al-Šuštārī and the use of the word *pizmōn* in Hebrew poetry in chapter 3.4.

mode can be indicated by musical instruments, or the closing unit of another poem, the *xarja*, can be used in order to indicate the musico-rhythmical mode and the rhyme scheme. Ibn Xaldūn (Rosenthal 1967:III:440ff) describes such literary *tertulia*-like gatherings where poets built their imitations (*mu'āraḡāt*) on models of other poems or elaborated the *maṭla'* of another composition. At the end of the poem, the prelude-refrain (*maṭla'*) can be used as *xarja*, so that the poet, or the scribe, did not need to reproduce the text at the top of the poem. In the Romance literary tradition we see the same practice in the *glosa*, because the *glosa* is a continuation of a short poem or stanza of one, two or four lines, called *texto*, or *retruécano*. Such lines are the '*estribo*', the base for further elaboration.

Refrains can be omitted at the top of the composition, which does not mean that such a composition is refrain-less. In many cases the refrain is written at the end or at the end of each strophe. However, the compositions of King Alfonso X share with the Hispano-Arabic *zajal* the almost obligatory prelude-refrain. Acephalous compositions are very rare.

The mudanza

In Romance poetry, we see the same use of the tripartite section of the strophe with monorhyme. Although this section is characteristic for *zajal*-like compositions, exceptions have been recorded with two or four lines, just as happens in Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew poetry.

The vuelta

In Hispano-Arabic poetry, the structure of the *vuelta* is different according to which genre is used. In the *muwaššah* the entire rhyme scheme of the prelude-refrain must be repeated in the *vuelta*, whereas in the *zajal* only one line or hemistich can be used in this section (not taking into consideration here the *muwaššah*-like *zajal* where the entire *vuelta*-rhyme scheme is used). In Romance poetry, the *muwaššah*-structure is used sporadically, while the *zajal*-type and the *musammaṭ*-type predominate. As Schoeler has demonstrated, a composition of William IX of Aquitania follows exactly the *musammaṭ* (m.1127). William IX could not have used, according to Schoeler, the late-Latin poems, such as the *sequentia* and the *laetabundus* as models for his composition, since the latter forms lack the characteristic *vuelta*.

The closing section

As I tried to demonstrate, in Romance tradition the closing unit is used abundantly. Some closing units are comparable to the Hispano-Arabic *xarja*. The *finida* and the *tornade* can share with the *xarja* the recurring rhyme scheme of the prelude, although the *finida* can be an entire strophe of the poem, and not only the section with common rhyme. The only possible reminiscence of the term *xarja* (lit. 'exit') is the Catalan word *escorraguda*. In all other parallels, the concept of an 'exit' is not found.

According to the description of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk the *xarja* must be 'witty' or 'savoury', in contrast to the rest of the 'serious' *muwaššah*. Both *xarja* and *retruécano* are the basis of the rest of the poem and are in many cases proverbs, adages, sayings, aphorisms, which can be quoted or used as the refrain of the composition (cf. the Arabic *maṭal* at the end of a poem).

The function of the *finida* can be compared to that of the *xarja*, since it is a concluding section. The difference is that the *finida* must rhyme with the preceding strophe, while the *xarja* rhymes with the *aqfāl*, or the *vueltas* of the preceding strophes.

6.3.2 Differences

The use of internal rhyme

It is obvious that both Andalusian and Romance poets exploited all possibilities to elaborate the basic scheme *zz// aaaz zz/ bbbz* etc. However, we can see important differences when we compare both traditions. The use of more elaborate rhyme schemes is much more widespread in Hispano-Arabic poetry than it is in the Romance tradition. In the *Uddat al-Jalīs*, the use of internal rhyme can be applied in both *asmāṭ* and *agṣān*.⁴² It is also the rule that the *asmāṭ* have an equal or greater number of internal rhymes than the *agṣān* have. This means that the *asmāṭ* never have more internal rhymes than the *agṣān* do.⁴³

There is only one *muwaššaha* in our corpus without internal rhyme (rhyme scheme: *zz aaazz bbbzz* etc.; 101 compositions have only internal rhyme in two hemistichs in the *asmāṭ* and not in the *agṣān* (rhyme scheme: *yyyz aaayyz cccyzyz*); 140 poems, the majority, have lines of two hemistichs in both *asmāṭ* and *agṣān* (rhyme scheme: *yyyz abababyyz cdcdcdyzyz*, or: *wxyz abababwxyz cdcdcdwxyz* etc.); 26 poems with *agṣān* without internal rhyme and lines of three sections in the *asmāṭ* (rhyme scheme: *xyz aaaxyz bbbxyz*; or *yyz aaayyz*, etc.); 15 poems with lines with three sections in the *agṣān* and in the *asmāṭ* (rhyme scheme: *xyz abcabcabcxyz defdefdefxyz*, etc.) 14 poems with *agṣān* of lines with two sections and *asmāṭ* with four sections (rhyme scheme: *wxyzwxyz abababwxyz cdcdcdwxyz*, etc.). The most elaborate schemes are *asmāṭ* with nine or ten sections and *agṣān* with two sections: (rhyme scheme *zzzzzzzzz abababzzzzzzzz cdcdcdzzzzzzzz* etc.).

It must be noted that the lines are not always symmetrical. As happens in the *kān wa-kān*, the lines of many *muwaššahāt* are divided in asymmetrical sections, although it is obligatory that all strophes are symmetrical and all

42 I use the terms of Ibn Xaldūn.

43 There are only two exceptions where the *mudanzas* consist of four sections and each line of the *vuelta* of two hemistichs.

mudanzas and the *vueltas* must also be completely symmetrical.

If we analyse the *zajal*, we must conclude that the schemes are less elaborate, but there are exceptions, since the *zajal* can be *muwaššah*-like. The overwhelming majority have strophes with *ağşān* with lines with one or two sections each, and *asmāṭ* with the same structure. As happens with the *muwaššah*, the *ağşān* usually do not have more internal rhymes than the *asmāṭ*. One of the differences between the *muwaššah* and the *zajal* is the length and structure of the *asmāṭ*. The *simṭ* can consist of only one section, repeating only part of the rhyme scheme of the *maṭla*^c.

As regards the use of internal rhymes in the Romance tradition, in particular the *cantigas* of King Alfonso X, the basic scheme can be elaborated, but not in such an artificial way as happens with the *muwaššah*. The *cantigas* resemble the *zajal* rather than the *muwaššah*, not only through the use of the *vuelta* (*simṭ*) which repeats only a part of the prelude-refrain, but also because the overwhelming majority consists of strophes with undivided lines or lines with two hemistichs. Lines with more than two internal rhymes are seldom used.

When I compare the structure of the *xarja* with the analogous *finidas*, I come to the same conclusion. Since the *xarja* must be symmetrical to all the other lines with common rhyme, the rhyme scheme of the *xarja* is much more complicated than the rhyme which is used in the *finidas*. We find in Monroe & Swiatlo (1977:158) the following table of rhyme schemes in Arabic *xarja*-s from Hebrew poems:

Verse	Rhyme	Occurrences
Couplets	aa	7
	ab	
Tercets	aaa	3
	aba	2
	abb	2
	aab	1
Quatrains	abcb	13
	abab	7
	aaba	4
	aabb	2
	abbc	1
	abcd	1
Quintets	aabbc	1
	abcbc	1
	abcda	1
Sextets	aabaab	3
	aabbbb	2
	aabaca	1
	abcdef	1
Octets	abcdabcd	1
	aaabcccb	1

Comparing these elaborate schemes with the *finidas* we may conclude that in most cases the *finida* consists of one or two lines, which are undivided or divided into at most two sections. The function of the *finida* is not exactly analogous to that of the *xarja*. The *xarja* can be, just as the *finida*, a concluding section, but this is not always the case. In many cases it has the function of a transition, since the opening lines of another poem can be quoted. This is not reflected in the Romance *finidas*.

6.3.3 Chronology

In chapter 3, I described how the process of *tasmīṭ* and *taṣrīʿ* worked and generated more complex forms. The oldest texts of the Muqaddam-period have not been handed down and in al-Andalus the first *musammaṭāt* have

been recorded in Hebrew in the second half of the 10th century. The oldest Hebrew and Arabic *muwaššahāt* can be situated in the Taifa-period, and already in this age the use of internal rhyme was exploited in all its possibilities. All Romance analogous strophic forms are later and the oldest *villancicos*, *virelais*, *laude*, etc. did not exploit all the possibilities of the use of internal rhyme, since they were usually composed with undivided lines, or with the use of two hemistichs in each line at most. The more elaborate forms with more complicated rhyme schemes are found in a relatively late period, in particular in the 15th century (Cancionero de Baena).

6.4 Conclusion

Let us examine now the theories about the origins:

- A. The *muwaššah* and the *zajal* were built on or inspired by Iberian or Romance literary tradition. The Andalusian invention can only be explained as an adoption of Romance or Iberian *substratum*.

In 1948 Millás Vallicrosa published his famous study *Poesía sagrada hebraicoespañola*, in which he maintained that the *muwaššah* and the *zajal* are the direct continuation of the Hebrew *pizmōn* and the Latin *responso-rium* (1946:364 and 1948:67). Cantera followed Millás Vallicrosa and stated that lyric poetry is derived in great part from the Biblical tradition (Cantera 1949) and that the Arabs borrowed the idiosyncrasies of Andalusian strophic poetry from Christian and Hebrew literature. This thesis was rejected by García Gómez in 1957.

Another extra-Arabic theory is defended by Díaz Esteban. He demonstrated (1991a and 1991b) that all the elements, such as the strophe, the refrain, the substitution of the quantitative by a stress-syllabic versification and the use of internal rhymes with assonance⁴⁴ already were in vogue in the literature of the Visigoths and were to be continued by the Christians of al-Andalus. Many centuries before the introduction of the strophe in Arabic literature, the strophe was already used in the literature of the Jews and Christians, who could have borrowed it from classical Greek poetry and the Hebrew use of the strophe in the synagogues in the Byzantine period.⁴⁵ Later, Díaz Esteban demonstrated that strophic poetry with refrains was found in Hebrew Literature in Palestine during the Byzantine period, which was different from the Greco-Latin tradition (Díaz Esteban 1991b).

⁴⁴ See also the study of Norberg (1958).

⁴⁵ The term *bayt* in the meaning of 'strophe' can be explained from the Greek term for strophe *oikos* ('house') and syriac *beita*, *bayt*. The Arabic term was translated, according to Díaz Esteban, into Italian as *estantia* (cf. 'stanza') (Díaz Esteban 1991a:135).

These theories might be true or partly true, but it must be noticed that the Occidental compositions, Iberian and non-Iberian, never have all the artificialities which are used in the Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew *corpus* of the *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl*. It is true that most types of rhyme or rhyme-schemes are known in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but they did not determine one specific genre as happens in Andalusian strophic poetry. Most subcategories from the Occidental tradition are not ruled by strict norms, whereas the Andalusian *corpus* form a more clearly distinguishable and codified structure. Many late-Latin compositions, for instance the *laetabundus*, *responsorium*, or the *sequentia* are not comparable to the *zajal*, since one or more essential part of the poem, such as the *refrain*, *vuelta* or both, are lacking. The *versus tripartitus caudatus* does not share enough features with the *zajal*, so that this form could not have been the prototype for Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry.

- B. The *musammaṭ*, the *muwaššah* or the *zajal* were the models for European *zajal*-like strophic forms. The poets from Occitania took Hispano-Arabic examples and other regions are influenced by the tradition of Occitan poetry.

It might be true that the *musammaṭ* was more popular in al-Andalus than can be supported by evidence of surviving texts. The *tasmīṭ*-theory, which explains the *muwaššah* as a direct elaboration of the *musammaṭ* is well documented in Arabic theory. The oldest poems by William IX of Aquitania may have been inspired by the *musammaṭ*, but there is no direct evidence to support this theory. The fact that the oldest surviving *muwaššahāt* of the 11th century are normally more complex and artificial than the oldest *azjāl* from the Almoravid and Almohad period, leads us to believe that the *zajal* is the more popular variant of the 'learned' *muwaššah*. If poets or troubadours of the Romance world borrowed from the Arabic or Hispano-Arabic tradition, the evidence of their texts demonstrates that they took the *zajal* as their example, since the *muwaššah*-type is almost non-existent. The fact that until the age of the *Cancionero de Baena* (15th century), more elaborate schemes have been exploited, demonstrates that the oldest Romance poets are inspired by the *zajal*. The fact that the oldest musicians influenced each other extensively, is supported by Menéndez Pidal, who states in his study *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* that musicians in Christian Spain were profoundly influenced by their Muslim colleagues. Because this scholar had such a great impact in literary theory, I quote the entire passage in question:

Y más aún: hay que tener en cuenta otras influencias más extrañas, considerando que los juglares conviven también con cantores musulmanes. El poeta árabe era también en muchos aspectos semejante al juglar: viaja como los juglares; sirve, como éstos, de mensajero, y recibe oro y vestidos en don. La influencia de este tipo sobre el análogo cristiano debió ejercerse desde muy antiguo, desde la época misma de los orígenes

de la poesía española, cuando un cantor andaluz, el ciego Mocadem ben Moafa, de Cabra, inventa, a fines del siglo IX, sus mohaxahas, no en árabe, sino en lengua romance y en verso vulgar, con estrofa usada después por las literaturas románicas; más tarde, en el siglo XIII, no sólo en las cortes de España, sino en la del emperador Federico II y en la de Manfredo, en Palermo y en Nápoles, los juglares sarracenos eran muy estimados al lado de los cristianos (1942¹:15-16).

This theory was also elaborated in his famous study *Poesía árabe y poesía europea* (1941¹; 1973:45), in which Menéndez Pidal demonstrated that the *zajal*-like strophe can be found in almost all countries of Europe. He also admits that many deviant types from the main structure-scheme, can also be found in Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry and he established that the European *zajal*-like poems are all derivations from the Hispano-Arabic poems. Stern was not convinced by the traditionalist thesis of Menéndez Pidal, which he labels as “entirely fallacious” (1963:160). According to Stern, the Andalusian poets, practising the principle of literary emulation (*mu‘āraḍa*, which is comparable to *contrafactum*) took over the *xarja* from other poets, and never from the popular “common stock of traditional poetry” (1953:XVIII-XIX). Monroe (1988:56) supports to some degree the so-called traditionalistic thesis, but he does not agree with the assumption of García Gómez that the *zajal* is a later evolution from the *muwaššah*. Monroe states that the *zajal* is probably older than the *muwaššah*. This seems to me very likely, since Arabic anthologists did not wish to incorporate non-classical poetry. The *muwaššahāt* were easier candidates for inclusion in their anthologies, since they are written in the classical language. Some people did not consider such poetry prestigious enough to mention, because it uses the vernacular or non-Arabic speech in the *xarja* and/or the full Xalīlian system is not used (see the following chapter). Although the theory of the pre-existence of the *zajal* cannot be supported by evidence, it seems to me a very plausible theory.

C. European *zajal*-like poetry was developed independently from the Andalusian strophic forms

The last theory I want to mention is that Andalusian *zajal*-like poetry is not culture-specific, but belongs to a representation of ‘cognitive universals’. This term is used by David Gil (1991: 137), who maintains that the *muwaššah* is an artistic convention or cognitive universal. It might be true that the *zajal*-like structure can be found in all cultures and literatures, but many of Gil’s examples are not full *azjāl*, but share only some features, such as the use of the tripartite monorhymed section followed by another rhyming element.

As I have tried to demonstrate in this chapter, Romance *zajal*-like forms and Hispano-Arabic *azjāl* share many features, such as the use of the *vuelta*, the structure of the *vuelatas* and the prelude-refrain. I wish to

conclude that maybe the question will never be solved, but I am inclined towards the *tasmīṭ*-theory, since it is better documented. The fact that an exact equivalent for the Hispano-Arabic *xarja* is not found in the Occidental tradition corroborates this view. The function of Romance *xarja*-like endings, such as the *finida*, *tornada*, etc. is not exactly the same as that of the Andalusian *xarja*-s. The idea of an 'exit' may be reflected only in the concept of the *escorraguda* and perhaps the two terms *xarja* and *escorraguda* may be related to each other.

7 Prosody and rhyme

7.1 Introduction

Before discussing the possible prosodical systems of the *xarja*-s in particular, I shall first explain the principles of the classical Xalilian system for classical Arabic poetry. Romance *xarja*-s are a minority of a greater group of *xarja*-s written in Arabic. A considerable part (one third approximately) of these Arabic *xarja*-s is written in classical Arabic, and the rest in colloquial Arabic or in classical Arabic with vernacular features. All these *xarja*-s form a part of a greater poem, written in classical Arabic (the *muwaššah*) or in colloquial (the *zajal*, although the latter does not always have a *xarja*). There exists a strict system of rules for classical Arabic prosody. No one doubts, not even the most orthodox defenders of the stress-syllabic system, who deny the existence of Xalilian patterns in strophic poetry, that at least some *muwaššahāt* can be scanned according to classical feet based on quantity. Not every scholar shares the same opinion concerning prosody when more problematic poems are involved. The situation is more complicated when we try to determine the prosody of those *muwaššahāt* written in classical Arabic, but whose rules of prosody do not adhere to the system of the classical *qaṣīda*. For many scholars it is uncertain, or improbable, that this system can also be applied to the final section, the *xarja*, especially those written in colloquial Arabic or in Romance.

I also examine if the final sections in colloquial Arabic of the *muwaššahāt* follow the same system as the colloquial *azjāl* or not. According to the medieval tradition, the *xarja* must be invented first and the rest of the poem must be constructed on the base of the *xarja*. It remains unclear if the medieval theoreticians also meant that the prosodical system of the *muwaššah* is based on the *xarja*, and it is even more uncertain if they meant only a Romance *xarja*, a colloquial *xarja*, or both. The metrical question is also the key for discussions about the origins and the development of strophic poetry in al-Andalus. Both theses, the traditionalist and Arabic, use arguments based on prosody, which makes it necessary to describe these theories. The following discussions will focus on Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry, and I shall not discuss other types of popular song in the Muslim world, because this falls outside the scope of this study. Hybrid denominations, such as *šīʿr malhūn*, *qaṣīda zajaliyya*, *šīʿr zajaliyy*, *ʿarūd al-balad*, *šīʿr mawzūn* clearly illustrate the need for a more specific terminology for poetry which does not fit strictly within the norms of al-Xalīl.

Methodology

In this paragraph I introduce the Arabic medieval theories on the prosody of Andalusian strophic poetry. This introduction will be followed by a

survey of the different theses. I shall compare the arguments and criteria used for both theories and attempt to formulate an answer to the following questions:

- 1 Which arguments are used in favour of a stress-syllabic system?
- 2 Which arguments are used in favour of an Arabic quantitative system, and which are the main objections against the stress-syllabic theory?
- 3 Does the principle of syllabic parity automatically prove a Romance origin?
- 4 Does the existence of one system exclude *a priori* the other prosodical system, or can they operate simultaneously?
- 5 If the stress-syllabic and the quantitative theses are both unconvincing for the *xarja*-s, could we think of another possibility, viz. that a third system is operating, for example a system based on musical practice?

The question is complicated, because different criteria must be considered. The Xalilian system is strict and allows for many exceptions or deviations. Not only is the question of quantity involved, but also the existence or non-existence of an *ictus*¹ is one of the main issues in the discussions. I shall treat prosody and rhyme separately. This choice is justified, because according to Arabic tradition, the boundaries between the sciences of prosody and rhyme are not always distinguishable. There are theoreticians who prefer to treat the two sciences separately; others include the science of rhyme in the science of prosody. The science of Arabic metres is called '*ilm al-ʿarūḍ*' or '*ilm al-šīʿr*'. The majority of Arabic theoreticians include the science of rhyme, '*ilm al-qawāfī*' in the '*ilm al-ʿarūḍ*', so in this conception '*ilm al-ʿarūḍ*' means 'science of metres and rhyme', but it means 'science of metres' when the term is used in a stricter sense. There are various theories about the origin of the word '*arūḍ*'. Probably the word is derived from the substantive *al-ʿāriḍa*, which is the 'central tent pole', a reminiscence of the Bedouin past. The term '*arūḍ*' also means 'the last foot of the first hemistich', when it is used in opposition to *ḍarb*, which means 'last foot of the second hemistich' (Coupry 1875:3).

7.2 Arabic prosody

7.2.1 The Arabic system of al-Xalīl

The number of lines of a *qaṣīda* can be as high as one hundred and the verses can be relatively long. The prosody which rules these poems is based on the quantity of the syllables. The system, which was codified by al-Xalīl

1 See Weil (1958 110 n.2) and Stoetzer (1989:90-91)

b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (or: al-Farhūdī, died in Baṣra in 786, or in 806 according to other sources) contains 15 metres. The prosodist al-Aḫfaṣ (died in 831 or 836), the most important successor of al-Xalīl, added a sixteenth. These 16 metres are recognised as classical Arabic metres. Al-Xalīl wrote a study on prosody, titled *Kitāb al-ʿArūd* which is lost. The oldest studies on metrics can be found in *adab* works such as *ʿIqd al-Farīd* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi who died in 940.² We know that the Arabic of the poetry of the preislamic tradition used a system in which the quantity of the syllables was fixed, and as Weil states (1960: 669), “one may assume that an expiratory accent was also present, though only slightly developed.” Weil also states that a technical term for what we call ‘syllable’ and ‘stress’ is absent in the canonical laws of prosody and this complicates the problem. Al-Xalīl was inspired, as tradition tells us, by the rhythm produced by the copper-workers in the bazaar of Baṣra. He uses the term *ḥarf mutaḥarrik*, which means ‘moving’ consonant for a consonant with a vowel (e.g. ‘bi’, ‘fa’), which we call a short syllable. A consonant with a vowel, followed by a ‘quiescent’ (*sākin*) consonant (i.e. without a vowel) corresponds to what we call a long syllable (e.g. ‘law’, ‘qad’). A consonant followed by a long vowel is also a long syllable. The Xalīlian metres can be represented in five metric circles (*dawāʿir*, sg. *dāʿira*). All these metres are based on the sequence of eight rhythmic feet, called *juzʿ* (pl. *ajzāʿ*; lit. ‘part’), which can be split up in the minimal entities *asbāb* (‘cords’; ‘ropes’) and *awtād* (‘pegs’). A short syllable has no separate existence and is not considered a minimal entity at all; hence we do not find a special term for a short syllable. Al-Xalīl distinguishes two different *asbāb* and two *awtād*:

- *sabab xafif*: (CvC) Two consonants, the first moving, the second quiescent (e.g. ‘qad’ = –);
- *sabab taqīl*: (CvCv) Two consonants, both moving (e.g. ‘laka’ = – –);
- *watid majmūʿ*: (CvCvC) Three consonants, the first moving, the last quiescent (e.g. ‘laqad’ = – –);
- *watid mafrūq*: (CvCCv) Three consonants, the first moving, the second quiescent, the third moving (e.g. ‘waqta’ = – – –).

Every *juzʿ* can be represented by a mnemonic word, based on the root *f-ʿ-l*. The eight feet are: *faʿūlun* and *fāʿilun* (5 consonants: – – / – – –) and *mafāʿilun*, *mustafīlun*, *fāʿilātun*, *mufāʿalatun*, *mutafāʿilun* and *mafūlātun* (seven consonants). The 8 *ajzāʿ* recur again and again in different distributions in all Xalīlian metres, being the *ṭawīl*, *basīṭ* and *madīd* (first circle), *wāfir* and *kāmil* (second circle), *hazaj*, *rajaz* and *ramal* (third circle), *sarīʿ*, *munsariḥ*, *xafīf*, *muḍārīʿ*, *muqtadab*, and *mujtaṭṭ* (fourth circle), and finally *mutaqārib*, and *mutadārik* (fifth circle). In practice, the scansion of the

2 For a list of grammarians and *adab*-composers and theoreticians who wrote about prosody, see Weil (1960:668).

poems shows many deviations from the ideal scheme. His description shows the basic features, called *uṣūl* ('prototypes') and the deviations the poet used in practice are called *furūʿ* ('derivations', 'ramifications'). Many different devices, such as *catalexis*, shortening, reduction, etc., are allowed. One form of deviation is the use of shortening, so that a line can be:

- *majzūʿ* (one *juzʿ* missing in each hemistich);
- *maṣṭūr* (reduction of a complete hemistich (*ṣaṭr*);
- *manhūk* (a line 'weakened to exhaustion', e.g. reduced to a third).

Zihāf and ʿilla

Two deviations from the prototypes (*uṣūl*) are called *ziḥāf* and *ʿilla*. *Ziḥāf* can be applied in the so-called *ḥaṣw*-feet, which means any foot except the last feet of the two hemistichs of the line (*al-ʿarūd* and *al-ḍarb*). *ʿilla* is the complementary phenomenon and means a deviation affecting the last feet of the two hemistichs.³ In a *qaṣīda*, if *ʿilla* is applied in one line, it must always be applied in all lines. The system is very complicated and as Weil (1960: 672) states, 37 different derivative (*furūʿ*) feet can be generated from the eight basic feet, all appearing in old poetry.

Iʿrāb and tanwīn

In the classical Xalīlian system the phenomenon of indetermination, called *tanwīn* (final {-n} which marks indetermination) does not create problems when we determine the metre of a line of poetry. The application of grammatical rules for inflections (*iʿrāb*) does not produce ambiguities, either, in the scansion of classical poetry, since the system is fixed. In *malḥūn* poetry however, both phenomena, *iʿrāb* and *tanwīn* can cause discussions because there are no fixed rules that tell us when we must read *tanwīn* and/or *iʿrāb* and when not. Another problem is that the eight mnemonic words "have *iʿrāb* [inflection] and almost all of them have *nūnation*", as Stoetzer puts it (1989:112). In vernacular poetry *iʿrāb* and *tanwīn* can be omitted, so that these mnemonic words reflect another reality, that of the classical poems.

Sometimes the poets of *lahn*-poetry apply *iʿrāb* and many times they omit it. This implies that the scansion with the mnemonic words cannot be applied *a priori*. According to the prologue of Ibn Quzmān, poets of *lahn* must avoid the use of *iʿrāb*, but surprisingly, we find that he himself often applies case-endings and *tanwīn*. Ibn Quzmān exploited these licences (omission or application of *tanwīn* and *iʿrāb*) deliberately. The number of syllables can vary considerably if we read the line with or without *iʿrāb* and/or *tanwīn*. As Gorton puts it (1975:2), "there is certainly less *iʿrāb* in

3 For further information see Coupry (1875:12-27).

I[bn] Q[uzmān] than in classical Arabic poetry; this cannot fail to affect the scansion, for the *iʿrāb* (and, properly speaking *taṣrīf*) account for a considerable number of the short syllables in classical poetry. Many texts are not vocalised, so that we cannot find the solution [for how we must interpret the scansion] in this manner". As we can read in *Todo Ben Quzmān* (García Gómez 1972:III:17), Ibn Quzmān tried to achieve rhetorical effects using or omitting the phenomena of *tanwīn* and *iʿrāb*. He was very well capable of composing poetry according to the Xalīlīan 'arūḍ-system, but he deliberately deviates from those rules. However, it remains unclear why Ibn Quzmān's prologue is incompatible with his own texts.⁴ In the same passage of al-Hillī we read that the rules for omission of inflectional endings and *nūnation* are the work of his successors. These norms did not even exist in the generations just before Ibn Quzmān.⁵ García Gómez, quoting Ibn al-Xaṭīb, postulated that the phenomenon of *iʿrāb* is very well compatible with Granadine colloquial speech. Ibn al-Xaṭīb in his work *Al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī l-dawla al-naṣriyya* gives us some information about Granadine colloquial speech. According to this source, in the Granadine dialect *iʿrāb* is frequently used.⁶

7.2.2 Prosody in Hispano-Arabic Poetry

In order to understand the system of Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry I shall first examine which information we can extract from the Arabic medieval treatises themselves. After having analysed their observations I shall deal with the recent theories of prosody.

7.2.2.1 Medieval sources

Ibn Bassām

In the oldest testimony of Ibn Bassām from Santarem we find the following statement:

The metrical patterns of these *muwašṣahāt* lie beyond the scope of this anthology, since the majority of them are not [composed] after the manner of the meters [found] in the classical poems of the Arabs (Monroe 1985-6:136).⁷

4 Al-Hillī also mentioned this contradiction and according to him Ibn Quzmān did not forbid *iʿrāb*, but used it deliberately (Hoenerbach 1956 69)

5 Al-Hamawī closes his *Bulūḡ al-amāl fī fann al-zajal* with a similar statement: "Y es el vulgo de sus continuadores el que ha inventado tal cosa, fijándose leyes entre las cuales figuran esas" (García Gómez 1972:III 19, Nykl 1933. XXVIII).

6 "Arabiyyatu lughat-him yataxallalu-hā iʿrābun kaṭīrun, wa-taglibu 'alay-hā l-imāla" *Apud* García Gómez (1972 II 886) Using this statement of Ibn al-Xaṭīb, García Gómez concludes that the use of *iʿrāb* is perfectly compatible with colloquial speech, as occurs in the work of Ibn Quzmān. If this is true, the use of *iʿrāb* in the *zajal* is less 'learned' than others believe. However, the observation made by Ibn al-Xaṭīb remains rather vague, since he does not give detailed information about the linguistic register of this type of speech. As happens in all regions of the *Dār al-Islām*, many layers exist, from the most pure classical form to the more vernacular registers.

7 Arabic text "wa-awzānu hādihī l-muwašṣahātī xārijatun 'an ḡaradī hādā l-dīwānī id aḡtaruhā 'alā ḡayrī a'ārīdī aš'ārī l-'arabī."

Monroe observes that a clear distinction must be made between the term *wazn* and *‘arūd*, both translated by the same term ‘metre’ by Stern. Monroe demonstrates that the terms definitely are not synonyms, because Ibn Bassām applies the term *awzān* explicitly when he talks about the *muwaššah*, while he reserves the term *‘arūd* for classical Arabic poetry, i.e. the fifteen metres of al-Xalīl. As Monroe states: “all *‘arūd* contains *wazn* in it, but not all *wazn* may be considered *‘arūd*” (Monroe 1985-6:135). Normally the term *wazn* is used for all types of derivations (*furū‘*) and it is obvious that the term *awzān al-šī‘r* can be applied to the classical poetry of the *qaṣīda*. It is possible that Ibn Bassām modified the meaning of *wazn* in order to make a distinction between classical poetry and *tawšīh* poetry and starting from this principle, Monroe translates the term *awzān* as ‘metrical patterns’ and *‘arūd* as ‘metres’.

Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk

The Egyptian theoretician divides the *muwaššahāt* into two classes (Rikābī 1949b:179-184):

- 1 Those *muwaššahāt* which can be scanned according to classical Arabic metres;
- 2 Those *muwaššahāt* which do not respect the canons of classical metres;

The first group can be subclassified into two categories:

- 1a Poets who try to compose a *muwaššaha* but actually they make a poem of the *muxammas* type (i.e. with the rhyme pattern aaaax bbbbx ccccx etc.). This category is practiced by incapable ‘poetas-ters’, according to Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk;
- 1b Those poets who apply variations on the strict system of al-Xalīl, by repeating frequently the same word with the same inflection;
- 2 The second group is the most frequently recorded category. This class escapes the *‘arūd* patterns, and is only governed by the phenomenon *ḍarb* (rhythmical beat) (Rikābī 1949b:182), referring to the musical background, rather than the literary or prosodical.

Ibn Quzmān

The *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān is an important source for the reconstruction and establishment of the *poetica* of the *zajal*, because we find many technical terms in his own *azjāl*, although we must not forget that he was a poet and not a prosodist. Ibn Quzmān applies the phenomenon of literary emulation, or imitation of an earlier *muwaššaha* in many of his *azjāl*. In one *zajal*, he even tells us the source of his imitation. Let us quote the final line of the *zajal* n°56:

‘ay zujáyyal qúltu fík, /wamalíh ja, warrasúl!
wa ‘amáltu fi ‘arúd/ “alǧazál šaqq alḥaríq”.⁸

Translation:

“qué cejelillo te he hecho, bello salió por Mahoma!/ Y lo he hecho paralelo a «Cortó la gacela el viento»”(Corriente 1989:127).

The *xarja* quoted by Ibn Quzmān can also be found in his *zajal* n°16 and it is the same *xarja* of a *muwaššaha* by Ibn Baqiyy, composed in the Xalilian metre *madīd*.⁹ It must be emphasized that Ibn Quzmān uses the word ‘*arūd*’ explicitly, which is a strong argument for those who defend the theory of the existence of ‘*arūd*’ in *zajal*-poetry (see below).

Šafiyy al-Dīn al-Hillī

Al-Hillī was an Iraqi and he wrote both literary and vernacular poetry. A complicating factor is that al-Hillī’s colloquial poems contain Andalusian features, while other poems are composed in the Iraqi colloquial. As we have seen in the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān, we cannot say that he writes a ‘pure’ colloquial Arabic, but he uses colloquial elements, both Andalusian and Iraqi (Levin 1975:259).¹⁰ Probably, al-Hillī was not very much acquainted with the Andalusian dialects. When he talks about prosody, we can see a clear parallel. He seems to deny that an ‘exotic’ Andalusian prosodical system is involved and describing the *qaṣā’id zajaliyya* of the author Mudḡalīs, he states that they were composed in classical metres. As Gorton observed (1975:7-9) the treatise of al-Hillī is of little value when he deals with prosody, because many “misunderstandings of the basic rules of *zajal*-poetics” can be found on every page. For instance, al-Hillī maintains that *ziḥāfāt* and ‘*ilal*’ are permitted in *šīr*, but forbidden in the *zajal* (Hoenerbach 1956:21).

Ibn Xaldūn

According to Ibn Xaldūn, the versification of the *zajal* was developed from the *muwaššah*. When the Andalusian poets composed their *azjāl*, they “even employ all fifteen metres for poems in the vulgar dialect”, which is proof of the fact that such poems must be scanned according to the canonical laws of the Xalilian system. Ibn Xaldūn tells also that the Maḡribīs created their local compositions, similar to the *muwaššah*, which is based on ‘*arūd al-balad*’ (‘local metre’) (Rosenthal 1967:III:466), and he distinguishes several subcategories, such as the *muzawwaj*, the *kāzī*, the

8 Ed. Corriente (1980.n°56 375)

9 The poem by Ibn Baqiyy can be found in the *Dār al-Ṭirāz* of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (Rikābī 1949 58-9)

10 Levin demonstrated that Hoenerbach does not distinguish in his linguistic discussion between Spanish [sic] and Iraqi linguistic features, which may create a wrong impression on several points (Levin 1975 260 n 9) The treatise of al-Hillī is not of great value for the reconstruction of the Andalusian linguistic features, but is of great value for the reconstruction of 14th century colloquial Iraqi Arabic. Levin concludes that “many linguistic data found in al-Hillī’s Iraqi vernacular poetry show that Iraqi Arabic in the 14th century resembles the contemporary Iraqi dialects in some features, which are considered today to be typical Iraqi, or Mesopotamian” (Levin 1975 273).

mal'aba and the *gazal*. However, here the distinction seems to be made on linguistic and structural features of the poems and not on the prosodical system, so they need not be discussed here in this chapter.¹¹

Al-Šafadī

The author al-Šafadī informs us, albeit without supplying details, that Andalusian strophic poetry was written in "metrical language in a special measure",¹² which contradicts the theory of Ibn Xaldūn I just mentioned above.

7.2.2.2 Recent theories

The stress-syllabic theory

If we wish to explain the prosody of the colloquial language in the *xarja*-s, we must know what the stress-accent was like in Hispano-Arabic. How the Andalusians pronounced Arabic exactly, is a matter of controversy.¹³

The Spanish arabist García Gómez propagated in many of his publications a stress-syllabic system that rules both forms of *tawšīḥ* poetry - *muwaššah* and *zajal*- although he admits that in later compositions, Xalilian rules infiltrated this system. He called this phenomenon a *reabsorción clásica* (García Gómez 1961b:318-319). When straight Xalilian '*arūḍ*' patterns can be detected in a certain poem, this is 'ironical playing' of the poet, according to García Gómez (1962:91). Although García Gómez's theory was applauded in many circles, it is not correct to consider him the inventor of the stress-syllabic theory, because he continued the studies of Von Schack and his teacher Ribera y Tarragó.¹⁴ Von Schack stated that the versification of the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān does not respect the canons of Xalilian prosody, which can only be found in erudite courtly poetry, and not in these vulgar forms (Schack 1877: translation Valera 1988: 250). Ribera also noticed that the versification of the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān obviously is not according to the system of al-Xalīl. He labels the system as 'syllabic', and substitutes quantity for stress. These poems were written in a language which had lost quantity completely (Ribera 1928:42-3).

11 It is remarkable that Ibn Xaldūn gives an example of a *mal'aba* (Rosenthal 1967 III:471-475) which has exactly the tripartite accumulation of themes of the *qaṣīda* which are also imitated in the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*. A beginning or introduction (*barā'at al-istihlāl*), followed by a transition (*taxallus*) and closed by a panegyric (*mamdūḥ*).

12 "*Kalām manzūm 'alā qadr maxsūs*" (Ramírez Calvente 1976:400.n.7).

13 "The stress system of Andalusian Arabic is not well known (.), it differed considerably from the way classical Arabic is conventionally stressed today (..) It should be added, however, that prosodic stress is not always a safe guide to the actual spoken stress prevalent in the dialect, since it tends to distort the reality of speech to some extent" (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:143).

14 We can find a parallel debate on the prosody of the Algerian *malhūn* (Tahar 1975:3-64). Some scholars prefer to scan them according to Xalilian models, while others explain the prosody of Algerian *malhūn* poetry as a system based on the number of syllables and the distribution of the accents (Desparmet 1932 18 and Chottin 1938 103) The latter studies antedate the theory of García Gómez.

García Gómez admits only iambic (— —) and anapaestic (— — —) accentual rhythms. Stress and syllable count are the main criteria in his system. According to García Gómez syllabic quantity is totally extraneous to the prosody of *tawṣīḥ* poetry and the system of syllable-counting follows the Galaico-Portuguese lyric in applying the Mussafia law.¹⁵

The adherents of the stress-syllabic thesis

From the start, the stress-syllabic thesis of García Gómez had a great impact on other studies. Monroe followed the stress-syllabic theory in his earlier publications (1974:30; Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:142-143)¹⁶ Many others followed this trend, although some scholars added important data to this theory, such as Solà-Solé who distinguished (1973:337-343) between isosyllabic and anisosyllabic *muwašṣahāt* and the *xarja*-s. When Solà-Solé counts syllables, he counts in the strict sense, without taking in consideration oxytonic or paroxytonic lines, so that he adheres neither to the law of compensation nor to the law of Mussafia.¹⁷ Sáenz-Badillos (1988b:143) does not follow this manner of counting, considering the final oxytonic syllables as two syllables (law of compensation). Fish (1976:7) follows García Gómez, starting from one utterance of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk quoted earlier. As we have seen, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk subdivided the *muwašṣahāt* into two groups, taking their metrical structure as a criterion (containing or lacking 'arūd patterns). For Fish, the explanation for such a subdivision proves that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk was able to scan the few poems with classical metre, but that he is at a loss in explaining the majority which do not follow 'arūd patterns. López Estrada followed García Gómez (1972) and Spieker (1984) did the same. The latter published metrical correspondences between the *xarja*-s and popular Castilian poetry and he used the editions and interpretations of García Gómez and Frenk Alatorre. Their readings, however, are all based on their own prosodical theory; which is why we cannot rely on these texts. The great specialist on Romance versification, Clarke also preferred to apply the stress-syllabic system to the Romance *xarja*-s (Clarke 1978:46). The same author revised her own theory ten years

15 See García Gómez (1962:18); Mussafia: *Sull'antica metrica portoghese*. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien, 1896, Vol. X; and Rodrigues Lapa (1929 317-325). Later, García Gómez corrected his statements and modified his views (1972:III-43).

16 The publication of Monroe and Swiatlo is a collection of Arabic *xarja*-s in Hebrew *muwašṣahāt*. We include this title in this paragraph, because their statement about prosody concerns Arabic *muwašṣahāt*. The authors criticize the edition of the *Jayṣ al-Tawṣīḥ* of Hīlāl Nāḥī and Muḥammad Māḍūr, affirming that "the editors were not aware of the stress-syllabic nature of *muwašṣah* prosody (...) García Gómez has recently revised the whole corpus (...) with the principles governing Romance prosody, thereby improving the readings considerably". As we shall see, Gorton asserts that the opposite is true.

17 "Contamos las sílabas en el sentido estricto, prescindiendo de si el verso es llano o agudo" (Solà-Solé 1973:31: n.1). Proparoxytonic verse is very rare. Clarke (1978.36) only registered n^{os} 75 and 78 of the Monroe-Swiatlo collection. According to the law of compensation we have to add one syllable when the line ends with an oxytonic word. According to the law of Mussafia, the syllables of all rhyming words, oxytonic, paroxytonic or proparoxytonic, are to be treated in the same manner.

later, introducing the concept *anacrusis* (a sort of 'upbeat'), as an explanation of irregularities in syllable counting.¹⁸ She mitigated her earlier statements, using less concrete terms when she stated that the prosody of the *xarja*-s is ruled by a 'certain beat-pattern' system, "based on the number of predetermined stress beats per line and the pattern of their distribution" (1988:56). Apparently she does not put aside the principle of syllable count, but she affirms that syllable count acts only indirectly and is at most of secondary concern (1988:61). This principle was already suggested by Menéndez Pidal (1951:226) and Frenk Alatorre (1985:151), who both prefer to read an accentual system, but with greater freedom concerning the number of syllables within a line. This number can fluctuate, just as we see in the versification of the later *villancicos* where we also find that the principle of anisosyllabism predominates.

Monroe showed that the prosodical system of the *muwaššahāt* agrees with the stress-syllabic metrical system of the Hispanic type,¹⁹ while the classical Arabic system of scansion is "notoriously inadequate" (Monroe 1977:123). The stress-syllabic theory of the "Spanish school" is not only accepted in Europe, but sporadically among Arab scholars themselves, as for example Muḥammad al-Fāṣī, who states that "the *muwaššah* is written in metrical language with a special measure, based on the number of syllables by which their parts are composed".²⁰

Hiatus, synalepha and paragogic -e

If the stress-syllabic system is operating, we must decide how to count. Therefore, all phenomena which affect the number of syllables must be considered, such as syncope, apocope, hiatus, synalepha and paragogic -e. In the prosody of classical Arabic, synalepha is impossible, because a word can never begin with a vowel. In colloquial speech, contractions such as *f-an* for *fa-'an*, *w-in* for *wa-'in* are a common feature and resemble the phenomenon of synalepha (García Gómez 1972:III:39:n.22).²¹ If we count syllables, it will be problematic in both Arabic and Romance, to establish when the phenomena hiatus, synalepha and paragogic -e were operating. Clarke maintains (1988:63) that "as in Castilian in all periods of its known formal versification, the recourses of hiatus, synalepha or apocope, dieresis and syneresis play a part in Mozarabic *xarja* verse measure", but it seems to me impossible to tell how these phenomena operated in practice. The use of paragogic -e is documented already in the 10th century. In the *Nota Emilianense*, two French epic names, *Rodlane* and *Bertlane*, are

18 Cf. Clarke (1988 71).

19 See Monroe (1974 243-264, 1976 113-123; 1979 9-24) and Monroe & Swiatlo (1977 97-121).

20 Al-Fāṣī (1975), *apud* Ramírez Calvente (1976 397). "Al-muwaššah kalām manzūm lahu mizān xāss yartakizu 'alā 'adad al-maqāṭi' fi ajzā'ihī." Al-Fāṣī seems to have used the above mentioned al-Safadī.

21 See also Stoetzer (1989 126), Sáenz-Badillos (1988b 149)

written with paragogic -e (Armistead 1988:59) and in the *Roncesvalles* fragment, paragogic -e is abundantly documented. Armistead demonstrates that the use of paragogic -e, is also documented in the *xarja*-s, as in early Castilian lyric. He states that the use of paragogic -e can be both "etymological" and "anti-etymological" (1988:59). It will be clear that reading paragogic -e also affects syllable count, because if we read paragogic -e in the *xarja*-s, lines have one syllable more than without reading a paragogic -e. Armistead enumerated (1988:60-61) all cases of the use of paragogic -e in the *xarja*-s, and he used the editions of García Gómez and Solà-Solé. Sometimes the paragogic -e is graphic and in other cases it is only understood, which demonstrates that the editors added a paragogic -e in order to unify the required number of syllables.

It is obvious that García Gómez and Solà-Solé both used these phenomena deliberately in order to uniformize the number of required syllables, or to put it in other words: If a certain number of syllables is required and the text does not provide the correct number, we must look for hiatus, synalepha or paragogic -e, or read a certain line with anacrusis. The situation became more complicated since many scholars, such as Clarke, studied the *xarja*-s for their metrical theories from the editions of García Gómez and Solà-Solé, who applied numerous emendations of the basic texts in order to fit their stress-syllabic theory. It does not make sense to pronounce upon the application of devices such as anacrusis, hiatus, synalepha, if we just do not know how and when they were used, except in the cases where the application of these phenomena is supported by palaeographical evidence.²²

All attempts to emend the texts of the *xarja*-s with the aim to make them isosyllabic are unjustified. It is a well-known fact, as Wright has demonstrated, that early Romance poetry is anisosyllabic (1982:185). *Xarja*-s need not have been as isosyllabic as later Romance lyricism. Although isosyllabism may occur, they are never rigidly isosyllabic.²³

Recent theories based on the quantitative principle

We have seen that the medieval Arabic theoreticians all observed that the metres of *tawšīḥ* poetry are different from the Xalilian system. However, almost all European scholars, such as Hartmann (1897), Nallino (1920:670), Nykl (1933:XLII), Lévi-Provençal (1944:351), and many others,²⁴ started from the same principle that the system applied in Andalusian

22 In *xarja* n° 4, for instance, we find two paragogic e's in rhyme position *mále-demandáre*, both supported by palaeographical evidence (>m'ly< and >dmd'ry<). Cf. *xarja* n° 18 (Hebrew series).

23 Compare Rico (1975:545), Jones (1980:41) and Henríquez Ureña (1933).

24 Gorton (1975), Hoenerbach and Ritter (1950;1952), Jones (1980), Latham (1983b;1991), Schoeler (1983;1991a), Semah (1984), Stern (1951;1974) and Tuulio (1941).

strophic poetry is a further evolution, or an adaptation of the quantitative ‘*arūd*’ system, i.e. they all accept the quantitative principle which is based on the duration of the syllables. These scholars recognize that there exist both Xalilian and extra-Xalilian patterns, but they all agree that quantity was distinctive.

Although the stress-syllabic theory was widely accepted during some decades, the turning point in the discussions is the publication of Gorton, who detected ‘*arūd*’ patterns in the poetry of Ibn Quzmān. In the first place he describes a *zajal* in which he demonstrates that clear Xalilian feet can be detected with totally legitimate deviations (‘*ilal*’), as happens in classical poetry. The key to his thesis lies in the work done by Stern in his article “Studies on Ibn Quzmān” (Stern 1951). In this study Stern examined the phenomenon of literary imitation of earlier *muwaššahāt* (*mu‘ārada*) in several *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān. The prosody of many *muwaššahāt*, as Gorton tells us (1975:9), agrees with classical metres. Those *azjāl* which are imitations of *muwaššahāt* ruled by the quantitative system must therefore reveal this quantitative pattern. If this is the case, we can proceed with the study of the application of the ‘*arūd*’ system to the prosody of colloquial poetry.

The next argument against the stress-syllabic theory of García Gómez, according to which all patterns are isosyllabic, is the existence of anisosyllabic patterns. Gorton demonstrated that poets sometimes substituted (–) for (– ◡), which are equivalent in some classical feet. In such cases the line is unmistakably anisosyllabic. Other examples are the Arabic metres *kāmil* and *wāfir*, where through the application of ‘*illa*’ (◡ ◡ –) is reduced to (– –), or (◡ – ◡ –) to (– – –) (Gorton 1975:10). If these phenomena provide syllabic imparity, the stress-syllabic system of García Gómez is not isosyllabic at all; therefore, this aspect of the stress-syllabic theory must be rejected. Gorton admits that the authors of *lahn* poetry neglect the rule of classical poetry in applying feet which are ‘deviant’, ‘ill’. In classical poetry, if ‘*illa*’ is applied, it must affect every line, while *lahn* authors such as Ibn Quzmān ignored this rule about uniformity (Gorton 1975:18). Gorton concludes with the affirmation that García Gómez, in order to reach a fixed number of syllables, emended the text in many cases, which he calls “an unjustified violence to the text” (1975:20). These emendations do not only concern vocalization but even the insertion of entire words in the text. In his conclusion, Gorton distinguishes three types of *azjāl*, and the same can be said of the *muwaššahāt*:

- 1 Those ruled by classical Xalilian feet;
- 2 Those ruled by classical Xalilian feet and showing regular deviations;
- 3 Gorton also admits that not all *azjāl* can be scanned according to classical metres and their derivatives. In particular, the *azjāl* n^{os} 52, 75, 163 and 173 contain combinations of feet which are not found together in any classical metre (Gorton 1975:21).

In all cases, the poems are ruled by a quantitative system and the text therefore does not need unnecessary emendations. After Gorton's article, Jones continued to examine 'arūd patterns in the corpus of *muwaššahāt*. As Gorton did for the *zajal*, Jones also tried to detect Arabic metres which can provide syllabic imparity, in order to prove that the Romance stress-syllabic system is not adequate for explaining the prosody of Andalusian strophic poetry. The conclusions of Jones are based on clear examples, but he also admits that some combinations are difficult to relate to the Xalilian system (1980:46). He concludes that the strict Xalilian system is not applied, but one has to look at the Arabic quantitative patterns in a "looser, expanded and modified framework". Expansion of the Xalilian system was inevitable once poets began splitting up lines and hemistichs (1980:54-55).²⁵ Later, Semah (1984) wrote an article in which he examined the existence of syllabic parity in the *muwaššah*. His main criterion is that many *muwaššahāt* indeed are isosyllabic, but this does not mean that they are based on the Romance system, because the latter can be divided into two systems; one isosyllabic and the other anisosyllabic, ametrical or irregular (Baehr 1981:37). Many forms of Castilian verse are written without a fixed number of syllables, as for example *El Poema de Mio Cid*. Semah demonstrated that at the very least some poems analysed by Monroe, who propagates the stress-syllabic system, can easily be related to one or the other of the Xalilian feet. But Semah, too, had to admit that "it cannot be denied that tremendous difficulties are encountered in any attempt to establish the precise Arabic metre in some of those *muwaššahāt*" (Semah 1984:83). Semah criticized the trend of some scholars to hunt for instances of anisosyllabism in order to dismiss the stress-syllabic thesis. Semah expounded that such an attitude would imply that all other *muwaššahāt* having syllabic parity are more likely to have been based on the stress-syllabic principle, an implication which is totally unfounded and easily refutable (1984:84). His two aims are to demonstrate the 'arūd-patterns in lines with perfect isosyllabism in the first place, and to show that an Arabic metre or a combination of Arabic feet is applied in anisosyllabic lines, too. Semah tries to explain syllabic imparity as the result of *ziḥāfāt* or *'ilal* which affect the number of syllables. The conclusion of Semah is that isosyllabism is by no means proof of syllabic prosody. The quantitative theory has such strong arguments against the stress-syllabic theory, that according to Schoeler the theory of García Gómez has been completely refuted (Schoeler 1991:888-889).

One year after the publication of Gorton, Corriente published an article in which he used statistics in order to examine the proportion of short and long syllables in colloquial language, compared to the classical. Corriente demonstrated that the Hispano-Arabic dialects had lost the opposition

25 Cf. Abu Haidar (1992).

between long and short vowels. Even if we suppose that the Hispano-Arabic dialects possessed an opposition between long and short vowels, the number of short vowels in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān would be too low compared to the long vowels. This proportion would make it very unlikely that the poet tried to compose quantitative metres. According to Corriente, the 'arūd system is not adequate at all (Corriente 1976:2). Corriente admits that it is theoretically not absolutely impossible that the colloquial poems made use of 'arūd (1976:7). At this stage, Corriente probably was acquainted with the publication of Gorton. He explains the patterns detected by Gorton as 'entertainment', or a 'game' of Ibn Quzmān and rejects Gorton's thesis (Corriente 1976:2:n.3). Corriente, however, radically changed his thesis, when he published the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān, abandoning the stress-syllabic theory and propagating the theory of an adapted 'arūd system. According to this theory, long syllables must be substituted by stress. Stressed syllables never occur in short syllables of the 'arūd patterns (Corriente 1980:76).²⁶

Schoeler (1983) claims to have refuted the hypothesis of Corriente. He maintains that the Andalusian dialects in general, and the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān, probably had stressed and unstressed syllables (*Druckakzent*), but stress was not decisive for the prosodical system (Schoeler 1983:329). Even if the distinction between long and short syllables had disappeared by the time of Ibn Quzmān, a quantitative prosody remained possible. The most important arguments of Schoeler lie in the fact that in the texts of Ibn Quzmān a long -ā- can be represented as short (as in 'ašiq instead of the classical form 'āšiq). Another argument advanced by Schoeler is that it is quite unacceptable that Andalusian Arabs did not use the quantitative system whereas Turks, Persians and Sephardic Jews all composed quantitative poems on Arabic models. Corriente (1991b), in his answer to Schoeler, uses the same argument trying to prove that the opposite is true. Corriente states that Turkish, Persian and Sephardic poets, all subjected their non-quantitative languages to an exogenous Arabic model, which is originally based on quantity. In a recent study Schoeler (1991) added strong arguments against the thesis of Corriente. Schoeler compared Hispano-Arabic *azjāl* with Eastern (Egyptian) colloquial poetry and came to the conclusion that in both traditions the same licences occur. Schoeler mentions in particular the licences of shortening long unstressed open syllables and the disappearance of gemination of consonants. With these findings, Schoeler proves that such licenses are not only found in al-Andalus, so that they have nothing to do with the specific features of the Andalusian dialects. Schoeler concludes that more licenses are allowed in vernacular poetry, Andalusian and non-Andalusian, than in classical

26 It must be commented that Weil already observed that the *zajal* is written in colloquial speech, which means in accentual metres (1958:120).

poetry, as long as they are based on classical Arabic *‘arūḍ* patterns. Unfortunately, Schoeler did not discuss Hebrew prosody, nor did he postulate an interpretation of the scansion of Romance *xarja*-s. Since Arabic, Romance and bilingual Arabic-Romance *xarja*-s are also found in Hebrew *muwaššahāt*, we must have a closer look at the fundamentals of Hebrew prosody.

7.2.3 Hebrew prosody

Introduction

The oldest manifestations of Hebrew literature can be found in the Bible, where we find strophic poetry, such as the *Song of Deborah*, the *Song of Songs*, etc. From the 7th century, in Palestine the *piyyūṭ* flourished and these Eastern *piyyūṭīm* had a great impact on Hispano-Hebrew poets, such as Yōsēp̄ b. Abīṭōr, who was born in Mérida and lived in Córdoba (died in 1012 in Damascus). His *piyyūṭīm* were incorporated in the prayer-books of the Provençal, Catalan and North African Jews and are more akin to Eastern tradition (Goldstein 1982:33). Dūnāš ha-Lēbī b. Labrāṭ was a Jewish scholar who was born in Fās and studied under the philosopher and grammarian S^{ec}adyāh Gā’ōn in Baghdad. When his teacher died in 942, he returned to Fās and went to Córdoba in the middle of the 10th century where he wrote under the patronage of the *maecenas* Ḥasday b. Šāprūṭ, during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (Goldstein 1982:27). Dūnāš b. Labrāṭ introduced the Arabic prosodical system of al-Xalīl in Hebrew poetry,²⁷ but only a few of his poems have survived. Yōsēp̄ b. Šēšet, who was a pupil of Dūnāš b. Labrāṭ informs us in the year 960 that his teacher employed the metre of the Arabic language in the Hebrew language.²⁸

Analogous to the canons of the Xalīlian system, the Jews developed their own system with their own corresponding Hebrew terminology. The two basic elements of Hebrew prosody are the regular alternation of long syllables *t^enū‘āh* (pl. *t^enū‘ōṭ*) and the combination of long and short, *yātēḏ* (pl. *y^etēḏōṭ*) which correspond with the Arabic terms *watad* and *sabab*. Hebrew grammarians developed a parallel system which corresponds with the metres of al-Xalīl.²⁹ This innovation caused a polemic between the Hebrew scholars. The grammarian from Tortosa, M^enaḥēm b. Sārūq, minister under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and secretary of Ḥasday b. Šāprūṭ and his pupils Y^ehūdāh b. Dāwūd Ḥayyūj, Yiṣḥāq b. Qaprōn and Yiṣḥāq b.

27 Sáenz-Badillos demonstrated that the criticism against S^{ec}adyāh cannot be considered -at least not in the form in which it came down to us- the original work of Dūnāš; it is more likely that some of his disciples elaborated the work of his master (1988:144).

28 “U-b^e-hābīb ba-lāšōn ha-y^ehūdī b^e-mišqal l^ešōn ha-‘ibrī” (del Valle Rodríguez 1983:289).

29 S^{ec}adyāh b. Dannān wrote his *Al-Ḍarūrī fī l-Luġa al-‘ibrānīyya* in 1473 in Granada. This is the first treatise which gives us a complete study of the use of all Xalīlian metres in Hebrew poetry. For more details see Sáenz-Badillos & Targarona (1987) and Zafrani (1977:226-242).

Jiqatella (Chicatilla) regarded the introduction of Arabic prosody as unacceptable, because the system is alien to Hebrew and the use of these metres destroys the Hebrew language. The arguments against Dūnāš b. Labrāṭ are the following (Sáenz-Badillos 1986:423-424; del Valle Rodríguez 1983:294-296):

- In the Arabic language combinations of two consecutive consonants without vowels (*sākin*) are non-existent, while in Hebrew such a combination is permitted in script and pronunciation as well. Adding or omitting vowels where this is not grammatically correct destroys the Hebrew language;
- Guttural consonants in Hebrew are always vocalised, while in the Arabic language these consonants can be without a vowel (with *sukūn*);
- Sometimes the use of *qāmeṣ ḥaṭuṭ* is omitted where this is required;
- In many cases, the accent is destroyed, changing *ṣērēy* and *s^cēōl*;
- *Qāmeṣ* is sometimes replaced by *pataḥ*.

It is surprising, as Sáenz-Badillos observed, that the pupils of M^cnaḥēm b. Sārūq did not discuss the opposition between quantity and quality of the syllables.³⁰

The great scholar and poet Y^chūdāh ha-Lēbī (1075-1141) also objected against the application of Arabic metres to Hebrew poetry. In his *Book of the Xazari*, he expressed his objections to the use of Arabic metre, and in his *Treatise on Metrics* (*Al-Maqālah fī l-‘Arūḍ*) we find almost the same passage on prosody as in the book of the Xazari. We quote the fragment in question:

And the Khazari said: “[...] And tell me how was this excellence in that language attained, and how was its words pattern [wazn] destroyed?” The rabbi answered: “[...] The first thing which the metre of [Arabic] poetry corrupts is the question of the two consonants, so that the word with stress on the penultimate syllable as well as on the last syllable is pronounced in such a way that *okhlāh* and *òkhlah* become the same, and *òmr o* and *omr ò* sound the same; and *òmer* and *omr*; and so also *šabtí* and *šábtí* are similar, in spite of the fact that there is a difference between them, namely that one of them, is present tense and one future (Schippers 1988:74; del Valle Rodríguez 1983:296).³¹

30 We have to wait until the 12th century when the grammarian David Qimḥi discussed for the first time the phenomenon of quantity in the Hebrew language.

31 Schippers used the edition of the *Kitāb al-Radd wa-l-dalīl fī l-dīn al-dalīl* (*Al-Kitāb al-Xazari*) by David H. Baneth. Jerusalem; Magness Press: 1977, 82-83

It seems that Mošeh b. ʿEzrā (1055/60-1136) did not know when Arabic prosody was introduced for the first time in Hebrew poetry.³² Aḇrāhām b. ʿEzrā from Tudela (1092-1167) who wrote in the same period as Y^ehūdā ha-Lēbī, dedicated a paragraph on prosody in his grammar *Sēp̄er Šaḥōt*, in which he observed that the only principle that reigns in Hebrew prosody is syllable count. He describes the metres as combinations of a varying number of *y^etēdōt* and *t^enūʿōt*, without determining the names of the different metres (Sáenz-Badillos 1986:422:n.8). We reproduce the fragment in question:

XIV. *El metro poético*: La segunda manera de medir verbos y nombres es según el arte de los poetas. En este tipo (*mišqal*) no importa de qué vocal se trata, ni tampoco importa si la letra es radical o paragógica, porque aquí lo que únicamente se observa es el número de las vocales (del Valle Rodríguez 1977:146).

The pronunciation of the Hebrew language in *Sefarad* was never based on the distinction between long and short vowels. The vernaculars of the Jews were Romance and/or Andalusian Arabic, both languages which are characterised by the substitution of quantity by 'timbre', or quality. When the Jews pronounced Hebrew, they reproduced the Romance or Andalusian phonemical base (Corriente 1986: 126-127). Corriente also states that the Jews did not introduce the Arabic *ʿarūd* system directly from classical Arabic poetry, but indirectly from Andalusian strophic poetry, where the substitution of quantity by quality had already taken place. He supports such a view the fact that the *musammaʿ* was a current strophic poem already in the 10th century, because this is the strophic form *par excellence* in the polemic discussion between M^enaḥēm b. Sārūq and Dūnāš b. La-brāṭ.³³

Mišqal ha-t^enūʿōt

Many Hispano-Hebrew poems were written in lines which can be scanned with only long syllables. This type of verse is called *mišqal ha-t^enūʿōt*. Theoretically, in the Arabic system such a metre is possible if the poet employs the licence of *qaṭʿ*, which is the substitution of any foot by two long syllables. This can usually not be applied to classical Arabic poetry, because the system is based on the opposition between long and short vowels³⁴ If the binary system of long and short syllables loses such an opposition, it is no longer a binary system. The fact that Hebrew poets used in many cases

32 Cf. del Valle Rodríguez (1983:291:n.10).

33 This could be possible, but, unfortunately, his statement cannot be documented. Very few Arabic *musammātāt* have been handed down, and we just do not know to which degree this form was diffused in al-Andalus, nor do we know if such poems were also written in vernacular Arabic.

34 However, some exceptions have been recorded (cf. Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas*, p.60) where we find three lines of al-Xalīl b. Aḥmad himself with long syllables exclusively, by way of exercise and/or used for humoristic purpose.

syllables which can only be considered long, is a proof for the non-existence of quantity and it is very likely that such lines must be composed of stressed and unstressed syllables. The use of *mišqal ha-t^cnū^cōt* must be considered something alien to Arabic literary practice.

The introduction of the Arabic quantitative system in Hebrew poetry does not imply that all *muwaššahāt* were written also in Arabic quantitative metres. Sáenz-Badillos (1988:147) states that many Hebrew *muwaššahāt* have been composed according to both prosodical systems, although he admits that this is not valid for the entire *corpus* of *muwaššahāt*. It cannot be denied that many compositions must be scanned according to quantitative patterns, i.e. the regular alternation of *yātēd* and *t^cnū^cōt*, but it is also manifest that the Hebrew *muwaššahāt* form a unity with the concluding *xarja* which was often written in Romance or colloquial Arabic or a mixture of both. The number of syllables of the lines of the *muwaššahāt* in question generally coincides with the number of syllables of the *xarja*. His argument seems to me conclusive. The use of a short vowel in the *xarja* does not have the function to form a *yātēd*, as happens in quantitative prosody. The author also emphasizes that one system does not exclude the other and possibly they can operate simultaneously. In the poems analysed by Sáenz-Badillos quantitative patterns can be traced, but only a minority follow the Arabic imitations of al-Xalīl, and the metrical system of the Romance *xarja*-s in Hebrew *muwaššahāt* is undoubtedly stress-syllabic. Poems which are ruled by a quantitative pattern can also show a regular recurrence of stress accents (Sáenz-Badillos 1989:125). Sáenz-Badillos states also that both systems can use a fixed number of syllables, although it has been proved that both Arabic and Romance poetry can be anisosyllabic.

7.2.4 The prosody of the *xarja*-s

Many scholars did not discuss the prosody of the *xarja*-s explicitly, but extended their theories to the final section of the poem, without mentioning that here another non-Arabic language is involved with its particular rules and differences from the Arabic or Hebrew canons. Here I want to compare the stress-syllabic interpretations of the *xarja* with the quantitative theory, in order to demonstrate how emendations contaminated the original texts.

The *xarja*-s in colloquial Arabic follow a stress-syllabic pattern, according to Monroe. He not only admits iambic and anapaestic meters, as García Gómez did, but also trochaic, dactylic and even the mixed rhythms of the metre known as *verso de arte mayor* ([o] ó o o ó [o] / [o] ó o o ó [o]) (Monroe 1977:122-123). Monroe even talks about scansion of colloquial Arabic *xarja*-s according to the *ritmo de gaita gallega* and associates the rhythms with Galician dance songs (1977:122).

Monroe and Swiatlo prefer to read the Arabic *xarja*-s of their collection of Hebrew *muwaššahāt* also according to the stress-syllabic system. In their

own words: "the prosody of the *xarja*-s edited above is overwhelmingly of the Hispano-Romance type. In a few instances, however, a quantitative scanning reveals that a more or less recognizable Arabic metre lies beneath the stress-syllabic rhythm (...). In sum, only in thirteen examples, out of a total of ninety-three, is it possible to detect a known Arabic metre, and even these are often irregular from a quantitative point of view (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:157).

The orientalist Ġāzī was the first, as far as I know, who not only established the quantitative metre of his *muwaššahāt*, all derived from the classical Xalilian feet, but also applied the Arabic metrical system to the *xarja*-s, Arabic and Romance. Corriente followed him later in his study of colloquial Arabic *xarja*-s (1987) and in his lecture at the Colloquium in Exeter (1991a). Corriente states, as we have seen earlier in chapter 5 on the *tasmīt*-debate, that the *muwaššah* derives from the *tasmīt* and that it can be subjected to the *‘arūd* patterns. In his study of the colloquial Arabic *xarja*-s Corriente determined each corresponding Xalilian metre or combination of metres. Corriente also demonstrated the *‘arūd* patterns (1991a:62-63) in the Romance or partly Romance *xarja*-s, as did Ġāzī.³⁵ During the same colloquium, the Romanist Hilty also treated the question of prosody, and he concluded that a pure Romance system was not operating in the Romance *xarja*-s, but rather an adaptation of the Arabic system, although he admits that the prosody of the Romance *xarja*-s also contains some Romance elements (Hilty 1991a). Another important matter is that *xarja*-s seldom have a genuine *‘āmmiyya*. The language of the *xarja* is more a "superficial vulgar gloss", as Semah calls it, which reminds us of Gorton's remarks about the language of Ibn Quzmān. According to Semah, quantity is equally functional in the metres of the *xarja*-s that are written in a non-classical idiom (1984:103:n.45). Semah admits that the omission of the inflectional ending, called *ī‘rāb*, implies that many words end with a closed syllable having a long vowel. These long syllables must be considered short. This license is not typically Andalusian, because it is very common in the Eastern *azjāl*, as al-Ḥillī tells us.³⁶

Below we shall illustrate in the same *xarja* how the prosodical analysis varies according to the two systems, stress-syllabic and quantitative. We compare the readings of Monroe (1977) and Corriente (1987), and we exclude classical Arabic and Romance *xarja*-s for the moment.

35 Later in Madrid, Corriente established this idea for both Andalusian and Hebrew poetry (1991b).

36 Cf. the Egyptian *mawwāl* (Cachia 1977:86-87; Fāhndrich 1977).

– *Isosyllabism occurs in both systems:*

Al-Xabbāz al Mūrsī (Monroe 1977 n°3; Jayš:104):

sīdi šāḥbu l-banāfsajī	a	9
jī li ^c āmmik ḥabībī jī	a	9 ³⁷

Corriente (1987:n°12); Ġāzī (1979:I:122):

sīdi, šāḥb albanāfsiji,
jī li^cāmmak, ḥabībī, jī/.

According to Monroe, we have to read this *xarja* as two *eneasílabos* with the following stress pattern: ó o ó o ó o ó, while Corriente scans the classical Arabic *xafif* metre. Both systems and both readings are perfect isosyllabic lines.³⁸

– *Monroe drops a syllable, where Corriente retains the vowel of inflection (i°rāb):*

Al-Manīšī (Monroe 1977 n°12; Jayš:85):

qālbī min ḥadīd	a	6
fī kūlli yāwm ṣudūd jadīd	a	9

Corriente (1987:n°31); Ġāzī (1979:I:339):

qālbī min ḥadīd:/ fī kūlli yāwm ṣudūdan jadīd/.

Monroe reads the first line as an *hexasílabo* and the second as an *eneasílabo*, and Corriente detects the Xalīlian *rajaz*. It will be clear that Corriente reads *ṣudūdan* with inflection, while Monroe drops it.

Another example is a *xarja* of Ibn Zuhri (Monroe 1977 n°4; Jayš:144):

man xān ḥabībuh al-lāḥ ḥasīb	a	10
al-lāḥ yu ^c āqibuh wā-yuṭīb	a	10

Corriente (1987:n°8); Ġāzī (1979:II:86):

man xān ḥabību, allāḥ ḥasību;
allāḥ yī^cāqibu aw yuṭību

37 The letters correspond with the rhyme-scheme of the *xarja*, the number corresponds with the number of syllables of the line. Apparently, Monroe applies the law of Mussafia, because the last oxytonic syllable counts for two syllables. I adapted the consonants of the text of Monroe according to my own transcription system. Monroe uses both ī and í, ā and á, etc. and even the combination of these two signs

38 In both systems isosyllabism is a frequent phenomenon. For example, in the *xarja*-s n°s 8, 27, 39, 46, 48, 53, 64, 67, 108 and 116 of Corriente's collection, the number of syllables of the lines is equal to Monroe's readings.

Monroe counts ten syllables (isosyllabic *decasílabos*), and Corriente reads the *munsarīh* metre. Corriente gives the full-inflected verbal forms at the end of the lines with *i^crab* and Monroe drops the final -u.

This question not only concerns verbal endings but also case endings, as the following *xarja* demonstrates (Corriente 1987:n°4; Ġāzī 1979:I, 322):

Al-Manīšī

alḥabīb ḥujīb ^cānni fi daru,
wanirīd nasāl ^cānnu [li] járū
wanixáf raqīb alḥibbi:
wáš na^cmállu, ya rábbi?/

We find the same *xarja* in a *muwaššaha* of another poet Ibn Šaraf (Monroe 1977 n°40; Jayš: 79), which he transcribes as follows:

ál-ḥabīb ḥujīb ^c an-ní fī dár	a	10
wá-nurīdu nás'al ^c ānnū jár	a	10
wá-naxáf raqīb al-ḥibb	b	8
wá-āš ná ^c malú yā rább	b	8

Monroe's reading is a couplet with two *decasílabos* followed by a couplet of two *octosílabos* with stress pattern:

ó ó ó ó ó ó ó ó
ó ó ó ó ó ó ó ó
ó ó ó ó ó ó
ó ó ó ó ó ó

and Corriente reads a *muqtaḍab*-metre, while he adds that deviations must be applied.

We see also the opposite:

– *Corriente drops the inflected vowel, while Monroe retains it:*

Ibn Baqiyy (Monroe 1977:n°13; Jayš 9):

našúqq as-simáṭa wáḥdī	a	8
'wa-nārā ḥabība qálbī báynī	a	10

Corriente (1987:n°107); Ġāzī (1979:I:434):

našúqq assimát/ wáḥdi,/ wanará ḥabīb qálbi/ yábni/.

Monroe reads an *octosílabo* with *i^crāb* in "as-simáṭa", and Corriente drops the final syllable of the same word, reading a *muqtaḍab*-metre.

An argument against the stress-syllabical approach is that more than one scansion can be detected; in other words the system can provide ambiguous metres. I shall demonstrate this in the following comparison. According to

García Gómez, the metre of the *maṭla*^c of the *zajal* n°160 (1972:II:770) “išrab šarāb wa-ršaf man ta^cšaqu, / waxalli ḥussādak yatfallaḳū”, is dactylic. This *maṭla*^c has been used as a *xarja* by Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh at the end of a *muwaššaha* which requires a iambic metre. Another example is the *maṭla*^c of the *zajal* n°171 (García Gómez 1972:II:798) *Qad kuntu manšūb...* which is the same text as the *xarja* n°27 from the Monroe-Swiatlo collection, also from the poet Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh. García Gómez reads an amphibrachic rhythm, while Monroe prefers a dactylic rhythm. These examples show that one and the same text can be scanned in two different manners.

When Sáenz-Badillos counts the syllables of a certain line, he considers the *š^cwā*’ (‘vocales murmuradas’) as plain vowels, and the *vuelas* of *muwaššaha* follow in many cases the stress-syllabic pattern of a preexisting *xarja* (1988:136-137). A very important factor is that the pattern of those *muwaššahāt* with Romance *xarja*-s do not differ prosodically from those with Arabic or Hebrew *xarja*. Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh in many cases used a pre-existing *xarja*. This poet tried to imitate the stress-syllabic system of the *xarja*-s, while using quantitative patterns.

7.2.5 The musico-rhythmical thesis

Another approach which is neither based on the quantitative nor the stress-syllabic thesis, is the so-called musico-rhythmical thesis. One of the main sources is al-Tifāšī, who asserts that the canons for music are exactly the same as those ruling poetry. As a clear testimony, we quote some rules from the *Kitāb Muṭ^cat al-asmā^c fī ‘ilm as-simā^c*, a volume from the encyclopaedia *Faṣl al-Xiṭāb fī madārik al-ḥawāss al-xams li’ulī l-albāb* by the author Šaraf ad-Dīn Aḥmad Abū l-Faḍl b. al-Qāḍī Abī Ya^cqūb Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Tifāšī (1184-1253).³⁹ He states that the laws of music are the same as those of prosody and that the canons of song and music in all languages are based on the three elements *sabab*, *watad* and *fāšila*. *Fāšila* is not mentioned in my introduction of this chapter. Prosodical treaties distinguish *fāšila šuḡrā* (CvCvCvC; prosodical ◡◡– and *fāšila kubrā* (CvCvCvCvC; prosodical ◡◡◡–). These combinations can be reduced to *awtād* and *asbāb*. According to al-Tifāšī the ancient Arabic songs of *al-Andalus* were “either in the style of the Christians, or in the style of the Arab camel drivers”, which focuses our attention on the divergence between the two musical traditions (García Gómez 1952:523; Wulstan 1982:260). Nevertheless, the musicians had to solve a problem when they put their words into a pre-existing melody. They had to add or omit syllables, or employ more notes to one syllable. In the following testimonies, we illustrate how the Arabic medieval theoreticians solved this matter.

39 Translation by E. García Gómez (1972:III:305-308).

Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk

When Stern treated the phenomenon of literary emulation (*mu'āraḍa*), he pointed out that the main stimulus to imitation lay in the musical side of the *muwašṣaḥ*. Stern listed parallel *muwašṣaḥāt* with indications of the place in the musical 'suite' (*nawba*) and the melodico-rhythmical mode (*maqām*). I discussed earlier the distinction by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk of two groups of *muwašṣaḥāt*. The second group will be discussed here, i.e. those without 'arūd, but containing *talḥīn*.⁴⁰ Haxen (1982; 1991:39-40) developed a theory in which he explained the irregular metres from the underlying musical rhythm, following the trend which was set by Rikābī (1966:300-302). Both based their theory on a phrase used by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk "*lā ǧarb illā al-ǧarb*" when he deals with the second group, which means that "there is no metrical scansion, but rather, rhythmical beat" (Haxen 1978:120).

Ibn Bājjā

The existence of two different musical traditions is reflected in a testimony of Ibn Bājjā who locked himself up to work with trained singing girls for several years in order to improve the *zajal* and to "combine the songs of the Christians with those of the East" (Wulstan 1982:251).

Al-Jāḥiẓ

Another important testimony concerning the relationship between the melodies and the text is a fragment from the *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* by the author Abū 'Utmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (died in 869).⁴¹ He observes that the Arabs "match their melodies to the meter of the poem, while in foreign cultures, he comments, they may expand or contract their words and phrases in order to fit the tune. Strict forms of poetry are superimposed on a fluid, musical base" (Fish 1976:117). The parallel between the two testimonies, al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, is striking. The latter observed that the words of a *xarja*, expressed in a foreign language (*a'jamiyya*), can be expanded by adding words such as *lā, lā, lā*,⁴² in order to fit the pattern of a pre-existent metre and melody of another composition. If the statement of al-Jāḥiẓ is correct, this practice is alien to Arabic tradition.

40 The term *laḥn* has two different meanings. It can be used for mistakes in writing or speaking classical Arabic (*laḥn al-'amma*), caused by the interference of colloquial speech, but also for 'melodic modes' (Haxen 1978:120). Haxen interprets the dichotomy 'arūd ('classical prosody') versus *laḥn* ('melodic modes'), using prosodical and musicological criteria. It could be objected that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk used linguistic criteria, which naturally have prosodical implications. If this is the case, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk uses the dichotomy 'arūd ('containing *rāb*') versus *talḥīn* ('containing *laḥn*', which means without *rāb*).

41 Ed. Cairo, 1948, p. 385.

42 García Gómez (1962:60).

Al-Hillī

Al-Hillī also mentions music in justifying the metre of the *zajal*. While Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk tells us that the text can be modified in order to fit the musical context, al-Hillī observes that the poets composed the text in complete harmony with the musical requirements. In one fragment from the '*Aṭīl al-Ḥālī* (Hoenerbach Arabic text 1956:26), al-Hillī tells us how the process of composing operated, although his terminology is far from clear. We quote the fragment in question:

Luego poco a poco, estas *qaṣīdas* pasaron de la rima y metro únicos a la pluralidad de metros y rimas, constituyéndose un género aparte: Las recitan con músicas amables, gratas al oído, en que se correspondían armónicamente las melodías y el ritmo, pues el canal (*jadwal*) de cada una de sus entidades poéticas necesitaba un punto en que acabar y un corte en que se remansasen sus melodías (*dawr*). Con noble designio y refinado gusto se empeñaban por unir las reglas del arte musical con la corrección de las formas métricas árabes. No conocían, sin embargo, las invenciones hechas por los persas de intercalar *tarānāt*, *awāzāt*, *awāzgaštāt*, para rellenar los huecos entre los períodos repetidos (*dawr*), ni la *sarbandāt* ['zarabanda'].⁴³

The *xarja*-s are regarded by al-Hillī as lines to be inserted in the metrical system. The poets tried to combine the requirements of music and the Arabic metres, and those who did not know the technical *intermezzo*'s, such as *tarānāt*, *awāzāt*, *awāzgaštāt* and *sarbandāt*, added 'certain words' which are equivalent to the metres in their heavy and light elements and they used modulations or fiorituras or melismas in order to fit the metre. Such 'words' are called *xarja*-s, when they follow immediately after the *aqfāl* and are called *mil' al-zaxmāt* [?]⁴⁴ if such a connection is non-existent. If the reading 'relleno de los plectros' is correct, we can think of a vocal intermezzo (*xarja*), immediately after the *aqfāl* or an instrumental intermezzo by a string instrument, which is played using a plectrum (*zaxm*). It must be commented that the interpretation of this passage remains very hypothetical.

43 Ramírez Calvente, pseudonym of García Gómez interpreted these words as 'trenos', 'laudes', 'recuestas' and 'zarabandas' (1976 386-396). It seems to me very unlikely that al-Hillī used these Romance terms, because he used Persian technical terms here. The term *tarāna* is a synonym for *dō baytī* or *rubā'ī*, a quatrain which can be inserted with rhyme pattern *aaab* or less frequently *aaaa* (*Encyclopaedia of Islam* Leiden, 1978 Vol IV, 58). *Zarabanda* is also undoubtedly a Persian genre. The exact meaning of the terms *awāzāt* and *awāzgaštāt* still remains unclear (cf. García Gómez 1961b 311-313).

44 Hartmann (1897 115) translates 'Fullsel der Schlegstifte', and Hoenerbach 'relleno de los plectros' (1950 315). Ramírez Calvente (1976 395) emends the word in *mulāḥiqāt* ('anejas') or *mulāṣiqāt* ('añadidas').

7.2.6 Conclusion

We can conclude that there are strong arguments against the stress-syllabic theory, as it is presented by García Gómez. A quantitative pattern forms the basis of all Arabic *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl*, although not all these patterns are pure Xalilian metres. The existence of isosyllabism does not imply that Romance prosody is involved, since Arabic metres can be isosyllabic also and in most cases are (exceptions: *wāfir* and *kāmil*). The existence of anisosyllabism does not imply that the Romance system must be excluded, since early Romance poetry is often anisosyllabic. As long as *‘arūd* patterns can be detected in the Romance, or partly Romance *xarja*-s, this system predominates. Since the earliest testimonies of Romance prosody do not seem to be governed by strict rules, the *xarja*-s can always be scanned according to the Romance system. For every distribution or combination of stressed and unstressed syllables an analogous example can easily be found in the Romance parallels. The fact that *‘arūd* patterns are used even in the Romance texts implies that these texts are either new creations by the Andalusian poets, or adaptations of real Romance fragments of poetry, rebuilt and remolded according to Arabic conventions. For Romance *xarja*-s from the Hebrew series, the situation is not basically different, as long as *‘arūd* patterns are imitated in such Hebrew poems. Since the Hebrew prosodical system can provide patterns which are unacceptable, although not impossible, in the Arabic system, the situation in Hebrew poetry is slightly different. I refer to the use of *mišqal ha-ṭēnūcōt* where the opposition between long and short syllables has disappeared.

Both theories, stress-syllabic and quantitative, recognize that some *muwaššahāt* or *azjāl* do not fit in the *‘arūd* system. García Gómez tried to solve this question using (silent) emendations of the text. Defenders of the stress-syllabic system tried to explain irregularities through licenses, such as anacrusis, paragogic -e, hiatus and synalepha. In many cases, such emendations are not supported by textual evidence and must be rejected, since there is no need to produce isosyllabism in a prosodical system in which anisosyllabism is permitted. Defenders of the quantitative theory tried to explain irregularities through Arabic prosodical licenses, such as *ziḥāfāt* or *‘ilal*. As long as these licenses are recorded without the need of too many textual emendations, the prosodical *‘arūd* system will be the best base for the scansion of Andalusian strophic poetry. This explanation has also its limits. When the *muwaššahāt* with a very elaborated rhyme-scheme are to be discussed, we must conclude that it is rather unlikely that the Xalilian system could have been an adequate model for these segmentations (or: ‘ramifications’) of verse-lines.⁴⁵ In other words: if too many

45 Abu Haidar (1992:66) gives an example of a *muwaššaha* of *‘Ubāda al-Qazzāz*, a court poet of al-Muṭaṣim b. Šumādīh from the Taifa period, where we see twelve internal rhymes in the *ağsān* of every strophe: “Badru tamm/ Šamsu ḍuḥā/ Guṣnu naqā/ Misku šamm/ Mā

licenses are needed in order to explain problematic texts, the system will be too artificial. In such cases, the explanation could be found in the musical practice of these songs. Music offers more licenses than poetry on itself. As poetry can use anacrusis, music has the possibility of the use of upbeat. Where Hispano-Arabic dialectology tells us to stress a certain syllable on a particular place, music can use syncopes and eliminate such facts. When the musical pattern requires more syllables, the singer can strain the duration of one syllable using melismata, or he can add nonsense syllables.⁴⁶ It would be easier if one note corresponded to one syllable, but we all know that musical beat can be in concordance with textual rhythm, or in disharmony having its independent patterns. Although interesting, the musicological theory is not supported by evidence.

Already in medieval times, al-Hillī tells us (Hoenerbach 1950:316; 1956:21) that a weak poet errs in his metre (*wazn*) if he uses too many *ziḥāfāt* and in the same way he searches for uncommon colloquialisms in order to use *lahn*. When such a poet does this, he probably did it in order to fit the metre. In poems with many *ziḥāfāt*, the rhythmical beat, as Haxen would have it, and this in combination with the elaborate rhyme scheme, as Abu Haidar demonstrated, could have prevailed in such a manner that they began to eclipse 'arūd rules. The most convincing argument against the stress-syllabic theory is that the sheer number of complicated techniques, which were a real *tour de force* for the poets, could not have been accidental. Another argument is the fact that many poets obviously adapted and elaborated Xalīlian patterns and these are precisely the patterns which were to be imitated in the Eastern imitations. It seems clear that such imitations in the East were not based on Romance prosody, which was unfamiliar to the poets living in that region.

7.3 Rhyme

Rhyme is the regular recurrence of equivalent phonemes or groups of phonemes. The equivalence can be based on homophony and homography. Homography and homophony can coincide, but this is not always the case.⁴⁷ The Romance and colloquial Arabic *xarja*-s must be completely symmetrical with all the other Arabic or Hebrew *asmāt*, which means that

the *agṣān* of every strophe "Badru tamm/ Šamsu duhā/ Ġusnu naqā/ Misku šamm/ Mā atamm/ Mā awdahā/ Mā awraqā/ Mā ašamm/ Lā jaram/ Man lamahā/ Qad 'ašiqā/ Qad haram" (Nykl 1946:392). According to Abu Haidar, sixteen poetic licenses are needed in order to fit a Xalīlian metre

46 Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk explicitly tells us about the possibility of the singer to add words as *lā*, *lā*, *lā* for this purpose. In the present-day tradition of North-African music, called Andalusian, this practice can still be heard

47 In Hebrew, for instance, homography can be used as rhyming element where the phonetic realization is distinct. Zafrani gives an example where [p] (*miṣpāh*) rhymes with [f] (*šarṣāh*), which are graphically identical, but phonemically different (Zafrani 1977:243)

Romance and Arabic words must rhyme with Arabic or Hebrew words of the preceding *asmāʿ*. The rules for Romance rhyme are different from Arabic and/or Hebrew. In my attempt to describe the *xarja*-s, it is important to examine the practice of the poets who operated 'at the crossroads of two systems'.⁴⁸

The Arabic system of rhyme is based on consonants, although vowels may be involved, whereas the rhyme in Romance poetry is based on the repetition of sounds in one or more of the last syllables of a line (Quilis 1978:31). The rhyming element is usually a stressed syllable. In Romance poetry, we distinguish oxytonic, paroxytonic or proparoxytonic rhyme, which are all based on the principle of stress. Within Arabic poetry, there are also differences in the rhyme rules between vernacular and classical poetry. Talking about present-day Arabic, Stoetzer says that "isolated words are characterized by a stress accent. Rules for where to place the accent will differ, at least in minor points, from one region to another. So whereas Cairo pronunciation will produce *madrāsah* with a stressed penultimate, a form *mádrasah* with stressed antepenultimate can be heard elsewhere" (Stoetzer 1989:91). When we compare the rhyme-rules of Arabic to the Romance rules, we see that the position of the rhyming element(s) in Arabic is more important than the position of the stressed element. Another feature which according to many scholars is only possible in the Romance system is the existence of assonant rhyme. In this paragraph I shall also examine if *assonance* can be found in the *xarja*-s.⁴⁹

7.3.1 Arabic rules. Rhyme in classical poetry

The science of rhyme is called in Arabic '*ilm al-qawāfī*'. The Arabic system of rhyme concerns the consonants, although exceptionally the long *ā* is used. The rhyming consonant is called *rawī* and this consonant may be accompanied by a vowel or can be used without a vowel, (i.e. with *sukūn*), but this consonant can never have *nūn*ation (*tanwīn*). Although the Arabic rhyme is principally based on the final consonant, vowels can be involved in rhyming words. Final short vowels which support the *rawī* must be considered long vowels, e.g. the *rawī* can also be followed by long vowels or *t-marbūʿa*, which is explained by the fact that the *t-marbūʿa* must be pronounced *-ah* at the end of the line or after a pause. Such long vowels or *t-marbūʿa* are not to be regarded as the *rawī* in this case. Only the last consonant determines the rhyme. The penultimate consonants may vary more freely than in Romance prosody. According to Arabic rules, the word

48 Since the Hebrew system shares many features with the Arabic system of rhyme, it is not necessary to speak about 'three systems'

49 Solà-Solé postulated that the Arabic, or mozarabic system of rhyme was not only used in some Romance *xarja*-s, but he also explained anomalies in the rhyme of the *Auto de los reyes magos*. According to Solà-Solé, anomalous rhyme combinations as *fembra / december, escarno / carne, mundo / redondo, maordo[mo] / toma* can easily be explained as products of Arabic prosody (1975 26).

ḥabībī rhymes with *qulūbī*. Normally the *qaṣīd* has one single monorhyme at the end of each second hemistich of the line, except in the opening line, where the two hemistichs normally also rhyme with each other. Another exception is the so-called *maṣṭūr* type where the two hemistichs of each line rhyme with each other, but with a changing rhyme in each line. The *maṣṭūr* type existed from early times of Arabic poetry (Beeston 1977:14). The poet can also deliberately impose more complicated rules than strictly necessary. This phenomenon is called *luzūm mā lā yalzam* ('requiring what is not compulsory'), e.g. the addition of an extra rhyming consonant as happens in the *luzūmiyyāt* of Abū l-^cAlā' al-Ma^carri (973-1057) (Monroe 1985-6:131; Bonebakker 1978:413).

Ikfā'

Some deviations from the strict rules of the rhyming system are permitted in classical poetry. One of such 'permitted violations' or 'deviations' is called *ikfā'* which means the substitution of a cognate letter for the *rāwī*. The most usual types of *ikfā'* are the rhyming of *l* and *r* and *n* and *m* (Bonebakker 1978:412; Wright 1875:II:385; Couprie 1875:196). It is significant that *ikfā'* is used in Persian poetry (Elwell-Sutton 1976:236), in particular when Persian phonemes must rhyme with Arabic phonemes. Graphically, these rhyming consonants are the same, but phonemically they are in opposition.

Rhyme in tawṣīḥ-poetry

In principle, the rhyme rules of the *muwašṣaḥ* respect the classical rules. However, there are some deviations from the classical canons of rhyme as Schippers demonstrated (1991a:154-155). In the *muwašṣaḥ* long syllables rhyme frequently with short ones. Schippers (1991:159:n.16) gives examples of the rhyming of the name *Ibrāhīm* which rhymes with *bāsim* and *zālīm* (^c*Uddat al-jalīs* n°93; Jones 1992:143, last *ḡuṣn*) and the same occurs in another poem where the same name rhymes with the word *nā^cim* and *bāsim* (Jones 1992: n°141:213:third *ḡuṣn*). Some features of colloquial speech sometimes infiltrate the Arabic system. An example is an Arabic *xarja* of a Hebrew *muwašṣaḥa* written by Mošeh b. ^cEzrā, where *qāḏī* rhymes with *hāḏī*, which is not permitted in classical poetry (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:n°55:150).

As I have demonstrated in chapter 3, poets showed their skills in complicating the rhyme schemes, using internal rhyme (*tasmīṭ*, *taṣrīṭ*). Sometimes they exaggerated and the ramification of the line made the prosody unnatural and forced and sometimes indiscernible. Abu Haidar (1992) remarks that the rhythm sometimes became 'shaky', and he adds that the complicated rhyme schemes disturbed the prosody, which means that some poets chose to break the rules of prosody in order to show their skills in employing complicated ramifications of rhyme schemes. In other words, Abu Haidar states that prosody is subordinate to rhyme. This affirmation is not compatible with the prescriptions of the Arabic poetical tradition. Abū

Ishāq al-Ṣābi' said that, when reading or reciting, one breath will not extend beyond two hemistichs.⁵⁰ In shorter metres as the *rajaz* two lines can be read without getting out of breath, but in other metres this is impossible. How can such poems be read? For the reciter, two alternatives are possible:

- 1 Breathing after every hemistich, which disrupts the sense;
- 2 Breathing at syntactical breaks, which disrupts the metre.⁵¹

According to Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi', the latter alternative is worse, because "in poetry the metre reigns supreme; the several forms of poetic licence affect linguistic, rather than prosodical rules."

Obviously breathing at the place of every rhyme word automatically provides the 'shaky' rhythm of such a line. It is quite probable that musical elements, as rhythm and melody, also interfered and if we knew more about medieval musical practice, the question about the interrelationships between poetry and performance would be easier to answer. It is probable that highly ramified compositions can also be read, sung or recited in a fluent way. In any case, the poets broke many rules; for example al-A^cmā separates a preposition from the noun it governs (Ġāzī 1979:I:273) and Ibn Baqīyy puts the inseparable definite article into a separate rhyme (Ġāzī 1979:I:242) and in another poem he separates the interjection or vocative particle *yā* from the vocative which follows. Breathing after such hemistichs seems not probable, since this produces shaky rhythms.

Each line of the strophe is usually divided into two or more symmetrical hemistichs. However, there are many more complex strophes with unequal segments.⁵² Some *muwašṣaḥāt* have lines where the rhyming element is not only employed at the end of every hemistich, but also at the beginning of the line. There are compositions where the first words of each line rhymes with each other ('*Udda* n°195; Jones 1992: 294-5). In another poem, written by Ibn Baqīyy ('*Udda* n°169; Jones 1992:257-8) we see that the last word of each line of the *aḡṣān* is an independent constituent which duplicates the rhyme of the preceding hemistich. Sometimes we see the effect of the echo ('*Udda* n°107; Jones 1992:163-4). García Gómez published earlier a *muwašṣaḥa* with echo, composed by Abū l-Ḥasan b. Nizār. The

50 Quoted in Diyā' al-Dīn b. al-Aṭīr: *Al-Maṭal al-Sā'ir*. Cairo (s d) vol. IV, p.7, *apud* van Gelder (1982 30 n 43)

51 Breathing after every hemistich is much more problematic in the longer metres, such as *tawīl*, *baṣīt*, *kāmil*, and *wāfir*. I quote Arazī (1991 107) to illustrate this "par exemple, la déclamation du *tawīl*, tel que l'a fait remarquer Ibrāhīm Anīs, exige une durée de neuf contractions cardiovasculaires, en d'autres termes, la récitation des 28 syllabes exige de 7,7 a 9 secondes, c'est-à-dire deux bonnes inspirations assez prolongées chez un homme sportif qui jouit d'une excellente santé"

52 The genre *kān wa-kān* is composed by lines, which are always asymmetrical, having unequal length. See García Gómez (1971).

text is as follows:

Išrab ʿalà naġmati l-maṭānī
 ṭānī,
 wa-lā takun fī hawā l-ġawānī
 wānī,
 wa-qul li-man lāma fī maʿānī
 ʿānī:
 Maḡā mina l-ḥusni fī burūdī
 rūdī!⁵³

We see this phenomenon also in a *xarja* by Ibn Zuhri (Ġāzī: 1979:II, 115; Corriente 1987:nº122):

wāḥid hu, ya ʿummi, min jirāni rāni/.

“He is the only neighbour, mother, who has seen me”.⁵⁴

7.3.2 Rhyme in Hebrew *muwaššahāt*

The Hebrew language does not have a system of declensional endings (*ʿrāb*). The Arab poets try to find a common final consonant which can be supported by a vowel, while the Hebrew poet must rhyme two final consonants, of which the final must always be ‘quiescent’, whereas in Arabic poetry, more rhyming consonants can be employed deliberately.

Zafrani (1977:244) distinguishes three levels of rhyme:

- *Hārūz ʿōbēr* (‘poor rhyme’; lit. ‘erroneous’). One recurring consonant, preceded by one vowel (vC) . Example: *šor-ḥamor*.
- *Hārūz rāʿūy* (‘rich rhyme’; lit. ‘convenient’). Two recurring consonants and two recurring vowels (CvCv) . Example: *šibbūr- dibbūr- ʿibbūr*.
- *Hārūz mʿšūbbāḥ* (‘very rich’; lit. ‘to be praised’). Three consonants and two vowels (-CvCvC). Example: *gʿbārīm- dʿbārīm- qʿbārīm*.

The same word can be used twice or more in a rhyme-position if the poem

53 Translation by García Gómez: Bebe, mientras rasguean las cuerdas otra [copa]/ no seas en el amor de las bellas/ perezoso/, y di a quien censura las cosas/ del enamorado/: “*La hermosa que se esconde entre mantos/ busca*” (1961:75-76).

54 Ibn Zuhri enjoyed this technique, as we can see in the following examples: *qalbī mina-l-ḥubbī ḡayru šāḥi/ šāḥi*. Another example is from the author al-Šafadī: *yā fāḍiḥa l-badri fī l-kamāli/ mā lī* (Abu Haidar 1991 120). In Castilian verse, we see the same phenomenon in a poem called ‘eco’ written by Juan del Encina:

aunque yo triste me seco/ eco
 Retumba por mar y tierra/ y tierra
 Que a todol mundo importuna/ Una
 Es la causa sólo dello/ cillo.
 (*Canc.Gen.* ed. 1520, fol. clxii, *apud* Clarke (1948 155-156).

is long or when words are used in different meanings or diverging semantic connotations (*tajnīs*). This rule is sometimes violated in the *xarja*-s where sometimes the same word is used.⁵⁵ Repetition is permitted at the end of the strophe, especially in the form of a refrain, in many cases a quotation of a biblical text.

In Hebrew *muwaššahāt* and their *xarja*-s we see that the same ramifications and techniques are used as in the Hispano-Arabic models. Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh used rhymemes of two elements, vowel + consonant or consonant + vowel (-vC, -Cv), three elements (-CvC or -vCv) or four elements (-vCvC or -CvCv) (Sáenz-Badillos 1988:138-139). *Šērēy* and *sʿḡōl* are permitted as rhyming elements, just as *pataḥ* and *qāmeṣ*, *šin* and *sāmek* and *ʾāleḫ*, *hē* is equivalent with *hē* with *mappīq*. Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh uses the same artificial technique as Ibn Baqīyy when he separates the definite Arabic particle from the noun and puts it in the rhyme position, a phenomenon, which I have already described⁵⁶ A Hebrew composition closes with an Arabic *xarja* in which we see this phenomenon operating:

fá-n-nibāl
tármuqu-nī
min laḥẓik al-
nābilī
wa-r-riḥāl
yafruqu-nī
min siḥrik al-
nābilī

"The arrows/ look at me/ from your noble/ gaze/, while camel-saddles/ are parting me/ from your bewitching/ charm." (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:n°92:156 and 163). As we can see, the Hebrew poets imitated their Arabic examples and we see the same rhyme-techniques operating in their Arabic *xarja*-s.

It is apparent that Ṭodrōs' rhyme is purely graphic, because he does not respect the rules of the assimilation of the article with solar consonants (*ḥurūf šamsīyya*). The *asmāt* of the *muwaššaha* in question is in -l, and Ṭodrōs uses the Arabic article in rhyme position, while a reciter had to observe the rules of assimilation of the following noun. We cannot check if such a poem was pronounced correctly when performed, i.e. with assimilation of the article. If the graphemes were respected, the omission of assimilation probably gave a forced result. As we have seen in Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry, Ṭodrōs used also rhyme with echo: *ha-monay/monay*; *ye'enay/enay*; *peninay/ninay* (Sáenz-Badillos 1988:139),

55 The word *alma* in the *xarja* of 'Udda n°224 (Jones 1988:n°16). This phenomenon (*itā'*) is also a stylistic device so that it will be treated later in the chapter 9.

56 Enjambment is called *tadmīn*, which may occur between lines. Enjambment between hemistichs, as here is the case, is called *tadwīr*. This phenomenon is frequently used in lines with short hemistichs (Arazi 1991: 125, 126 and 135).

but he never used Romance assonance rhyme.

7.3.3 Romance rules

In classical Latin, rhyme and assonance were accidental and were used for specific rhetorical effects. In the Middle Ages, many poems were written in Latin without rhyme, following the classical examples. Firstly assonance was developed and later more complex formes of rhyme elaborated. This development reached its apogee in the 12th and 13th centuries (Norberg 1958:38), whereas most *xarja*-s are earlier. It is generally accepted that rhyme originated from rhetorical prose. Sedulius used assonance extensively in his *Carmen paschale* and his hymn *A solis ortus cardine*. The use of assonance is not yet a 'pure rhyme', because assonance is only applied in the final syllables which have the same vowel, while the consonants do not rhyme with each other. In the 6th century, we see a certain tendency towards assonance or rhyme in many hymns, and in some hymns, assonance became the rule. From the Visigothic period in Spain, for instance in the poem *Oratio pro rege* by Eugenius of Toledo, and from the same period in Ireland, many poems have been handed down with pure rhyme, which means the repeating of the same vowel, followed by the same consonant (*orbem-omnipotentem*). In the Carolingian Renaissance, the use of assonance and rhyme almost disappeared, with some exceptions where leonine rhyme is used.⁵⁷ In the Merovingian period rhyme developed from one to two or three recurring syllables (*Audite omnes gentes Et discite prudentes*, Norberg 1958:42). Polysyllabic rhyme is developed in the Carolingian period, as the following example demonstrates, which is written by Godescalc of Orbais:

	Magis mihi, miserule,	
	Flere libet, puerule,	
Plus plorare		quam cantare
Carmen tale,		iubes quale
		amor care.
	O cur iubes canere?	

(Norberg 1958:42).

Rhyme schemes became more and more complicated as we can see in the following example:

Tu thalamus pudoris,
 Tu balsamus odoris,
 Tu libanus candoris,
 Tu clibanus ardoris, (*idem*: 43)

57 The leonine verse is introduced in the 9th century and in this type of verse, we see that two sections of the same line rhyme with each other, as for instance *contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis* (example from Lázaro Carreter 1974:261).

Within one line, rhyme is introduced also:

Spes, res es pulcherrima,
Cos, ros, dos gratissima,
Lux, nux, dux prudentiae,
Ius, tus, rus fragrantiae. (*ibid.*)

Another class of rhyme was developed where the last element of a hemistich or constituent rhymes with the first word of the following.⁵⁸ This phenomenon is used in the *versus serpentine* or *decisi*.⁵⁹

The Castilian word *rima* (and also *rismo*, *rimo*, *ritmo*), was probably introduced in Castille from the Occitan word *rima*, derived from *rim* in Old Occitan, which comes from the word *rhythmus*,⁶⁰ although Dutton (1965) tried to explain the word as a translation of the Arabic word *ḡuṣn* (=Spanish *rama*), an etymology which is not supported by evidence. In Late-Latin, the rules for rhyme are different from the Romance system. The Arabic system of consonant-rhyme also exists in late-Latin compositions.⁶¹ The oldest record of rhyme in Castilian are from the *Libro de Alexandre*, which dates from the 13th century. In this poem, the author tells us what Castilian verse was like:

Mester trayo fermoso,	non es de joglería;
mester es sin peccado,	qua es de clerecía;
fablar curso rimado	por la quaderna vía,
a sílabas contadas,	qua es gran maestría. ⁶²

Another important testimony is a passage of a Castilian translation by Alonso de Palencia and Pero (or: Pascual) Gómez from the *Li Livres dou Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, written between 1260 and 1266. The text was translated between 1284 and 1295:

ca el que quiere bien rrymar conujenele contar bien los puntos

58 The same phenomenon exists in Arabic poetry, where it is called *tasbīḡ*. In Greek rhetoric, the equivalent is *anadiplosis* and in Latin rhetoric treatises it is called *reduplicatio*. See chapter 9.

59 For instance: Ave porta poli, noli te claudere mota,/ Vota tibi grata data suscipe, dirige mentem/ Entem sinceram, veram non terreat ater,/ Mater....etc (*ibid.*) In Spanish this rhyme-class is called *rima encadenada* and in French *rime enchainée* or *annexé*. This phenomenon also exists in the so-called Hebrew *piyyūṭim m'šūlšālīm* (Zafrani 1977:257), which is derived from *šālšēlet* ('chain').

60 From the Greek word *ῥυθμός*, which probably is derived from the verb *ῥέω* ('to flow'), *ῥυομαι*.

61 Klauser-Meyer: *Clavis Mediaevalis*, p. 210: "Während in der modernen Poesie Reim erst entsteht durch den Gleichklang zweier oder mehrerer Silben, begnugte sich die mittellateinische Dichtung, die ihn in den Hymnen früh aufnahm, auch mit einsilbigem (Endsilben-) Gleichklang oder mit der Assonanz des Vokals der letzten Silbe, ja sogar mit der des End-Konsonanten." (Italics are mine)

62 Text from López Estrada (1984:472).

[d]e sus dichos en tal manera *que* los otros; et convjenele mesurar las dos sylabas postrymeras del viesso en manera *que* todas las sylabas [postrimeras] sean semejantes, et a lo menos la vocal de la sylaba *que* va ante la postrimera, e conujene *que* contrapasen los acentos, e las bozes assy *que* las rrimas se acuerden en sus acentos, ca maguer *que* las letras se acuerden sy tu fazes las sylabas cortas la rrima non sera derecha, o sy el acento se desacuerda [...].⁶³

The fact that confusion between *ritmo* and *rimo/rima* was felt until the Golden Age can be illustrated in the *Gramática* (1492) of Antonio de Nebrija, where the word *rima* is avoided.⁶⁴ In the Renaissance, scholars were very much aware of the idiosyncrasies of modern verse, as opposed to Greek and Latin versification. While Nebrija mentions Hebrew verse, the Italian scholar Giammaria Barbieri tried to explain in his *Dell'origine della poesia rimata* (1581)⁶⁵ the occurrence of rhyme in Sicilian and Provençal verse as a borrowed element from Arabic poetry. The fragment in question is as follows:

Per le quali ragioni tutte ridotte insieme debbiamo conchiudere, che nè da' Greci, nè da' Latini antiqui nè da' più moderni sia originato il modo delle Rime, ma dagli Arabi passando ad altre lingue e nazioni, come si dirà nel seguente capitolo, la sentenza del quale va continuata col presente discorso (Barbieri [1581] 1790:43). [...] Però è ben verisimile, che gli Spagnuoli per la vicinanza, e commercio d'una nazione all'altra fossero i primi da quella banda ad apprendere da gli Arabi, ch' essi nominarono Mori, per essere venuti da Mauritania, con la lingua insieme la maniera di poetare (1790:45).

This early testimony is the first, as far as I know, to mention an Arabic origin of rhyme in European poetry. It will be clear that rules for rhyme in Romance poetry were non-existent in the age of the first *xarja*-s, since poetical treatises on vernacular poetry have not been handed down. Of course, early Romance poetry is governed by rules, even when such rules

63 Original French text Car li bien voudra rimoier, il li covient a conter toutes les sillabes de ses dis, en tel maniere que li vier soient acordables en nombre et que li uns n'en ait plus que li autres. Après li vocient il amesurer les ii derraines sillabes de ses dis en tel maniere ke toutes les lettres de la derraine sillabe soient samblables, et au mains la vocal de la sillabe qui va devant la derraine. Après ce li covient il contrepeser l'accent et la vois, si ke ses rimes s'entracordent en lor accens. Car ja soit ce que tu acordes les letres et les sillabes, certes la risme n'ert ja droite se l'accent se descorde (both fragments from López Estrada 1984:473).

64 See Nebrija Ed Quilis 1989 158.fol 21) Cf Juan del Encina, who did the same as Nebrija in his *Arte de poesía española* (1496). He avoids the use of the word *rima*.

65 Ed Girolamo Tiraboschi, Modena (1790), Chapter III "Dell'origine e dell' antichità delle Rime and Chapter IV. "Propagazione della Rima degli Arabi agli Spagnuoli e a' Provenzali", pp 28-49. See also Monroe (1992 398), Abu Haidar (1992) and Balke (s a .49), who informs us that Barbieri died in 1574, while this work was printed in 1581.

are not handed down. We can only reconstruct the rules for rhyme of the Romance *xarja*-s, comparing them with later Romance poetry. We must be very reserved in our conclusions, since Romance *poetica* had not yet been codified in the 11th century. What we can do is analyse those examples of rhyme which do not follow Arabic or Hebrew rules. If such deviations agree with later Romance poetry, it will be quite safe to determine such deviations as non-Arabic Romance compositions.

7.3.4 Rhyme in the *xarja*-s

Within one *xarja*, lines may rhyme or may not, but always the poet must establish an equivalence of rhyme between the *xarja* and all the other *asmāṭ*. If the *maṭla*^c and the *asmāṭ* of a certain composition have the rhyme-scheme *ab* or *abcd*, for instance, the *xarja* will consist of two or four non-rhyming lines (*ab* or *abcd*). Since the *xarja* must rhyme with the other *asmāṭ*, the rhyming words must rhyme with Semitic words. Earlier studies, such as Frenk (1985:124), Fish (1976:106-112) and Solà-Solé (1973: 32-33; 340-343) all contain valuable material, but they must be revised, since only recently the palaeographical editions of Jones (1988 and 1992) have become available. In these editions many earlier readings turn out to be incorrect; so that a new balance must be made. I also incorporate here the interpretations of Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos (Corriente 1993 and Corriente and Sáenz forthcoming) for the Hispano-Hebrew material.

7.3.4.1 *Xarja*-s from the Arabic series

Xarja 1 (^c*Udda* n°22)

Rhyme scheme: *abcd cccd*: Rhyme words within the *xarja*: *a(d)mīb-a(d)tīb* (perfect consonance); *nóxte-liqárte*: Arabic rules; only the consonant *-t* is used as *rāwī*. The Romance basic rule of rhyming the stressed vowel is not respected.

Xarja 2 (^c*Udda* n°31)

Rhyme scheme: *aa*: Rhyme words within the *xarja*: *no+ ntáto- si nón tu*. The Romance system of rhyming the stressed vowel is not respected. The rhyme is perfect consonance.

Xarja 3 (^c*Udda* n°90)

Rhyme scheme: *abb*: Rhyme words within the *xarja*: *tenráḍ- kéreḍ*. Arabic rules; perfect consonance.

Xarja 4 (^c*Udda* n°98)

Rhyme scheme: *aaba*: Rhyme words within the *xarja*: *fogóre-dolóre-amíri*. According to Arabic rules the three words rhyme perfectly. The word *amíri* is not permitted as rhyming element in Romance poetry, according to which only the first two words rhyme perfectly.

Xarja 5 (^c*Udda* n°102)

Rhyme scheme: *aa*: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: *gárre-mattáre*. If we take into consideration the fact that [r] and geminated [rr] are different

phonemes in Spanish, this combination is only compatible in the Arabic system, since *tašdīd* is usually omitted. It is also an example of *ikfā'*.⁶⁶

Xarja 6 ('*Udda* n°109)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: qerbáre- lebáre. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 7 ('*Udda* n°110)

Rhyme scheme: abb: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: fogóre- póre. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 8 ('*Udda* n°124)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: amár- sanár- logár. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 9 ('*Udda* n°140)

Rhyme scheme: aa: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: aššárṭi- qúrṭi. Arabic words respecting Arabic rules.

Xarja 10 ('*Udda* n°149)

Rhyme scheme: aba: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: alḥarakí- alfanaké. Arabic words respecting Arabic rules.

Xarja 11 ('*Udda* n°157)

Rhyme scheme: aa: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: aḍúk- almulúk. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 12 ('*Udda* n°167)

Rhyme scheme: aa: Rhyming words within the *xarja*: sin élle- por élle. Perfect rhyme, although the repetition of the same rhyme word in two consecutive hemistichs or lines does not enjoy a high prestige in Arabic poetry (*īfā'*).

Xarja 13 ('*Udda* n°178)

Rhyme scheme: aa: rhyming words: xaléllo- assamrélllo. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 14 ('*Udda* n°190)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: šaqrélla- ḥamrélla. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 15 ('*Udda* n°193)

Rhyme scheme: abab: rhyming words: garríre- dormíre; kíлма- mámma. The first couple is compatible in the two systems, the second is only permitted in the Arabic system since the stressed vowel is different.

Xarja 16 ('*Udda* n°224)

Rhyme scheme: aa: rhyming words: álma- álma. Compatible in both sys-

66 In the palaeographical edition of Jones (1988 57), the gemination is not marked by *tašdīd*; Jones reads *gāri* - *mattāri*, without gemination of the [r].

tems; two consecutive rhyme words (*īṭā'*).

Xarja 17 (*Udda* n°230)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: mañána- maṭrána. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 18 (*Udda* n°260)

Rhyme scheme: aa: rhyming words: alyéno- séno. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 19 (*Udda* n°273)

Same rhyme scheme and rhyming words as *xarja* 17.

Xarja 20 (*Udda* n°276)

Rhyme scheme: abcd: no rhyme within the *xarja*.

Xarja 21 (*Udda* n°280-281)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: tornáde- lešáde. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 22 (*Udda* n°311)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: ḥáqqa- šáqqa. Arabic words rhyming according to the rules of both systems.

Xarja 23 (*Udda* n°344-345)

Rhyme scheme: abb: rhyming words: en+ éso- revéso. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 24 (*Udda* n°347)

Rhyme scheme: aba: rhyming words: áš- áš. The same word is used; compatible in both systems (*īṭā'*).

Xarja 25 (*Udda* n°348)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: farás- irás. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 26 (*Udda* n°349)

Rhyme scheme: aaaaaa: rhyming words: aḍḍámmas- aššámas- mirádas- al- lázmas- aqúṭas- lanas- almas. Most are compatible with both systems, except the word aqúṭas which is not permitted in the Romance system, since the stressed syllable has another vowel. Jones states that the rhyme on the consonant *šīn* is extremely difficult in Arabic. The marker for plural {-s} in Romance is normally transcribed with this consonant. According to Jones (1988:191) the Arabic *asmāʾ* are “strained and unconvincing”, while the Romance *xarja* fits the rhyme neatly. Except the word ‘aqúṭas’, all words also have assonant rhyme, but always compatible with the Arabic system according to which only the final consonant must rhyme.

Xarja 27 (*Jayš* section 1, poem 2)

Rhyme scheme: aaaba: rhyming words within the *xarja*: keréy- leṭaréy- min áy- faréy. Perfect consonance. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 28 (*Jayš* section 11, poem 8; section 1, poem 4)

Rhyme scheme: abcdec: rhyming words: a mībe- arraḡībe. Romance word

rhyming with Arabic; perfect consonance and compatible in both systems.

Xarja 29 (*Jayš* section 4 poem 9)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: rhyming words: amar- polorár- de már. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 30 (*Jayš* section 5, poem 3; section 16, poem 6)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: morréy- sanaréy. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 31 (*Jayš* section 5, poem 4)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: alḥujáj- samáj. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 32 (*Jayš* section 5, poem 10)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: yadáy- faréy. Arabic rhyming with Romance; compatible in both systems.

Xarja 33 (*Jayš* section 6, poem 1)

Rhyme scheme: abcd. No rhyming words within the *xarja*.

Xarja 34 (*Jayš* section 6, poem 9)

Same as *xarja* n° 15 (*Udda* 193).

Xarja 35 (*Jayš* section 8, poem 1)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: dawíyya- bannasíyya. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 36 (*Jayš* section 9, poem 8)

Rhyme scheme: aabaab: rhyming words: al-^cíqde- aššúhudi-^cíndi- amánde; báyjame- móyrome. The two words báyjame - móyrome are only rhyming according to the Arabic system.

Xarja 37 (*Jayš* section 10, poem 3)

Rhyme scheme: aaba: rhyming words: rumóre- ledére- veníre. Absolutely incompatible with the Romance system, although only Romance words are found in the rhyme-position.

Xarja 38 (*Jayš* section 11, poem 1; section 12, poem 7)

Rhyme scheme: aba: rhyming words: alḡulám- ḡarám. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 39 (*Jayš* section 12, poem 8)

Rhyme scheme: abcd: No rhyming words within the *xarja*.

Xarja 40 (*Jayš* section 13, poem 8)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: Rhyming words: míbe- ḡabíbe- míbe. Perfect consonance; repetition of the same rhyme-word *míbe* (*īṭā'*). Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 41 (al-A^cmā)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: qorasóni- manúni. Only compatible with the Arabic system. The rhyme is based on graphic equivalence of *o* and *ū*.

Xarja 42 (Ibn Quzmān)⁶⁷

Rhyme scheme: abca: rhyming words: tarḍáli- walbáli. Compatible in both systems.

7.3.4.2 *Xarja*-s from the Hebrew series*Xarja* 1 (Brody I:89-91)⁶⁸

Rhyme scheme: aaaa: rhyming words: béne- béne- azzaméne- addayéne. Compatible in both systems; repetition of the same rhyme word in the first two hemistichs (*īṭā'*).

Xarja 2 (Brody I:149-150)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: balḥáq- isháq. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 3 (Brody I:157-158)

Rhyme scheme: abab: rhyming words: bēned- éšed; albišára- alḥajára. Compatible in both systems. Bēned and éšed also have assonant rhyme but the combination is still compatible with the Arabic and Hebrew system (final -d).

Xarja 4 (Brody I:163-164)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: mále- demandáre. Assonance rhyme, or non-perfect consonance. The equivalence between the *liquidae* -l and -r is often called *consonantismo asimilado*; but also permitted in the Arabic system as *ikfā'*.

Xarja 5 (Brody I:168-169)

Rhyme scheme: aa: rhyming words: sin éлло- por éлло. Compatible in both systems; repetition of the same rhyming word (*īṭā'*).

Xarja 6 (Brody I:171-172)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: alxaláq -balfiráq. Compatible in both systems. *Ikfā'* may be operating in the penultimate consonants.

Xarja 7 (Brody I:176-177)

Rhyme scheme: aa: rhyming words: alyéno- séno. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 8 (Brody II:6-7)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: en+ éso- rebéso. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 9 (Brody II:321-322)

Rhyme scheme: abab: rhyming words: de míb- alḥabíb; tornarád- sanarád.

67 Preserved in *Kitāb al-ʿAṭīl al-ḥālī* of al-Ḥillī. See García Gómez (1960) and Ġāzī (1979:1:522).

68 I used the interpretations of Corriente and Sáenz-Badillos (forthcoming) and for the rhyme schemes I consulted Stern (1974).

Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 10 (Brody II:322-323)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: rhyming words: *berdád-qerbád- enfermád*. Compatible in both systems. Ultimate vowels and consonants rhyme with each other; the penultimate consonant varies.

Xarja 11 (Brody II:324-325)

Rhyme scheme abcb: rhyming words: *hálla li- alḥulí*. Only compatible in the Arabic system, since the stressed syllables do not rhyme with each other.

Xarja 12 (Brody I:278-279)

Rhyme scheme: abab: rhyming words: *sa tíya- bannasíyya; béd- bendéd*. Compatible in both systems, not taking into consideration the gemination of the consonant -y.

Xarja 13 (Brody I:279-281)

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: *tájir- muhájir*. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 14 (Brody II:165-166)

Rhyme scheme: ab: rhyming words: *mámma- yána*. Assonance, but compatible in both systems. The words end with final -h (cf. *t-marbūṭa*), which normally is not used as *rāwī*. The nasal consonants -m and -n are also rhyming according to the Arabic system, if we accept *ikfā'*.

Xarja 15 (Egers: 84; Rosin:110-111)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: rhyming words: *faréyo- bibréyo- morréyo*. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 16 (Brody :28; Yellin: 15)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: rhyming words: *míbe- ḥabíbe- de míbe*. Compatible in both systems; repetition of the same rhyme-word (*īṭā'*).

Xarja 17 (Brody :54; Yellin :30-31)

Rhyme scheme: aaa: rhyming words: *bénes- amés- qéres*. Except for the irregular accentuation of *amés*, compatible in both systems.

Xarja 18 (Stern 1973:147) 69

Rhyme scheme: aa: (a) aaa. Rhyming words (*amáre*)- *amáre- amáre- mále*. The first word is superfluous, because the other *asmāṭ* do not require this rhyme. The poet deliberately added this rhyming element. Assonance-rhyme; equivalence of *liquidæ* (*consonantismo asimilado*; permitted in the Arabic system as *ikfā'*); repetition of the same rhyme word. Compatible in both systems (*īṭā'*).

Xarja 19⁷⁰

Rhyme scheme: aa: rhyme words: bíya- anníya. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 20⁷¹

Rhyme scheme: abc: no rhyming words within the *xarja*.

Xarja 21⁷²

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: qáqqa- yábqa. Compatible in both systems. Assonance rhyme.

Xarja 22⁷³

Rhyme scheme: abcb: rhyming words: bá(d)se- amáse. If we omit the (d), it is compatible in both systems. If we read the (d), the rhyme will be assonant.

Xarja 23⁷⁴

Rhyme scheme: abab: rhyming words: keréses- keréses; bóno- úno. The first couple is compatible in both systems (repetition of the same rhyme-word) (*īfā'*) the second couple is not compatible in the Romance system.

Xarja 24⁷⁵

Rhyme scheme: aa: iréyo boláre- sabréy donáre. Deliberate rhyme words: iréy(o)- sabréy; required rhyme words: boláre- donáre. Quadruple repetition of the vowel pattern é-(o)-o-á-e. Compatible in both systems.

Xarja 25⁷⁶

Rhyme scheme: ab: No rhyming words within the *xarja*.

7.3.5 Conclusion

As my examination demonstrates, most Romance *xarja*-s are, in principle, compatible with Arabic rules. It must be said that the device of *luzūm mā lā yalzam* ('requiring what is not compulsory') is often applied, while in some cases the device of *ikfā'* can be recorded. Some *xarja*-s have not been composed according to the Romance system, although I must repeat that such a system had not yet been codified in this early period of the Middle Ages. If we compare such problematic cases with later Romance rhyme-techniques, it will be clear that irregularities are frequently recorded in these *xarja*-s. This fact permits us to maintain that these *xarja*-s are not to be regarded as authentic Romance literary creations. The texts have been written in agreement with the Arabic system. Hebrew and Hispano-Arabic

70 MS Cambridge T-S 8K 14/6 Geniza.

71 MSS Cambridge T-S, H 15/83 Geniza

72 Not recorded by Stern. Published by Schirrmann (1956).

73 Not in Stern, but from Schirrmann (1965:372).

74 Schirrmann (1965:355)

75 Schirrmann (1965:369).

76 Source not indicated by Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos in the provisional (forthcoming) text. Probably this will be added in the definitive version.

poets used colloquial *lafz* and rebuilt these texts in order to fit their own literary techniques. The *xarja* with the extremely complicated rhyme in -š, as Jones demonstrated, may be evidence of the fact that the Romance text was the basis for the rest of the composition, since -š is the usual transcription of the plural ending of nouns in Romance. The rhyme scheme was apparently subordinate to the Romance *xarja*. One of the most important conclusions of this examination is that assonance hardly occurs, as earlier studies let us believe. Most cases can be explained through the use of *ikfā*, in particular when *liquidae* and *nasales* rhyme with each other. If 'Romance' assonance is involved here, the same phenomenon still is perfectly explicable within Arabic literary theory. Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebrew poets did the same as their Persian colleagues. They rhymed Arabic words with non-Arabic words which have graphically the same rhyme consonant, although such combinations are phonemically distinct. In both Persian and Andalusian tradition, poets sometimes used *ikfā* to solve this particular problem of poems 'at the crossroads of two systems'.

8 Thematic relationships

8.1 Thematic structure of the *qaṣīd*

The term *qaṣīd* can be explained from the semantic connotation of the root *q-ṣ-d* from which it is derived. The poem is 'goal-oriented'. The purpose of the poem is the final passage of the poem (*qaṣd* = 'intention', 'purpose').¹ The *qaṣā'id* are polythematic compositions whose internal structure is very schematic. It has been maintained that the polythematic poem is a synthesis of several different poems, but there is no consensus in the discussions concerning the origins of the *qaṣīd*.² We shall not discuss these theories, because they go beyond the limits of this study. As regards content, the *qaṣīd* goes back to the context of the Bedouin tribes of Arabia. Usually, the introductory section of the polythematic *qaṣīd* is the *nasīb*. The central themes of this section are:

- The *aṭlāl*-theme. The poet sings about the remnants of an encampment which remind him of the love with his beloved;
- The theme of separation or parting at the crack of dawn. Forced by the circumstances, the poet has to leave his beloved in the early morning;
- Another frequent theme of the classical *qaṣā'id* is the appearance of the beloved in a vision or a dream (the so-called *xayāl*-theme).³

After the *nasīb*, the poem usually continues with a section with a travelling-scene through the desert, the *raḥīl*-theme, with secondary themes, such as detailed descriptions of the camel. Sometimes other animals are described, such as the ostrich, the gazelle, and sometimes the scenario can be expanded with hunting scenes. The section that follows after this part is the concluding section, the proper 'aim' of the composition, the panegyric (*madīḥ*) or laudatio, the self-praise (*faxr*, *iftixār*), or the satire (*hiǰā'*). The closing section often contains a request for help or support for the poet or his tribe. As we shall see below, the panegyric is the usual closing section of the 'court'-*qaṣīd* of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids. The poem normally consists of a switch from a love-complaint in the beginning, focused on the past, to the concrete situation of the poet himself. This architecture of themes of the old *qaṣīd* is never abandoned in Arabic traditional poetry.⁴

1 Whether or not the term *qaṣd* is related to *qaṣīd* is a debated question, not to be discussed here.

2 See Jacobī (1987a:16).

3 The description of the themes of the classical *qaṣā'id* is far from exhaustive. Here, the most characteristic themes are given.

4 Jacobī gives us the following scheme: Liebesklage (*nasīb*), Verbindungsmotiv A, Kamelbeschreibung, Verbindungsmotiv B, Schlußteil (Jacobī 1987a 24).

The qaṣīd in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd ('neo-classical') period

During the government of the Umayyads (661-750), we can notice a certain shift of lyrical themes and the internal relationship within the *qaṣīd*. At this stage in the process of evolution the *qaṣīd* is situated between the transition from Bedouin oral to urban written poetry. The thematic features of the Bedouin were never left out of the picture, but urban elements made their entry in the lyrical tradition. The self-praising theme (*faxr*) and the satire became more dominant and the *nasīb* was extended and became the main theme of the composition. We see that the travelling-scene on the camel is reduced and this specific section only serves as the introduction of the *madīh*. A new element is the introduction and elaboration of the dialogue, e.g. between lover and beloved, the woman and her servants, or the poet and his companions. A characteristic stylistic feature is the extensive use of *qultu* (I said), *qālat* (she said) in these dialogues. An important theme dating from the *jāhiliyya* is the so-called *ḥubb al-ʿudrī*, a favorite theme in the period of the Umayyads. The *ḥubb al-ʿudrī* can be characterized as the insanity of love as an ideal or the suffering from illness or even dying from love.⁵ For the first time we see the introduction of the wine-theme in the poems of the poet-caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd (reigned 743-4).

During the government of the ʿAbbāsīds the *qaṣīd* comes to another apogee with the poets Baṣṣār b. Burd (died 783) and Abū Nuwās⁶ (died 814) as the most eminent representatives of the 'courtly' urban *qaṣīd*. Probably as a direct interference of Persian elements, there arose a certain tension between the poets of the 'classical' style (*al-mutaqaddimūn*) and the 'neoclassicists' (*al-muḥdaṭūn*). The innovations are operating on the level of form (structure of the poem), themes and rhetorical devices. In this period, the bacchic themes, erotic and homosexual poetry are becoming more preponderant (*xamriyyāt*). The preislamic themes never disappeared, but could be regenerated and reappear in an adapted form. An example of such an adaptation is the case of the well-known 'anti-*aṭlāl*'-theme of Abū Nuwās.⁷ A common way to close the poem is by making a shift from a descriptive part to a phrase in direct speech, as we can see in a poem ascribed to both Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Muʿtazz (Hamori 1974:104-106; Jacobi 1987c:43). The poem opens with a description of a naked lady taking a bath. In the fifth line we see the introduction of the figure of the spy (*raqīb*) who has the function of one of the three enemies of love.⁸ The poem ends with the phrase "fa-subḥāna l-ilāhi wa-qad barāhā/ ka-aḥsani mā yakūnu mina n-nisā'i". ("Glory to God, for he made her the most

5 This theme corresponds with the concept of love and the theme of dying from love in Occidental poetry, which is why it was one of the most important criteria for the theory of interrelationship between Arabic literature and courtly love poetry. See Nykl (1946), Fish (1976), García Gómez (1951) and Pérès (1937¹ [1953, 1983 426]).

6 See Wagner (1965).

7 Cf. the 'anti *nasīb* motif' of al-Mustahill b. al-Kumayt (8th century), which is used for jesting (van Gelder 1992:90).

beautiful of women!"). Later on, as I shall demonstrate, we find the same architecture of themes in Andalusian strophic poetry. Themes of the shorter *qasā'id* are *ğazaliyyāt* (erotic), *xamriyyāt* (wine-songs), *ṭaradiyyāt* (hunting scenes), *mu'annaṭāt* (women), *muḍakkarāt* (boys, men), *naqā'id* (war), *hijā'* (invective), *faxr* (self-praise), *mujūniyyāt* (obscene, jest), *zuhdiyyāt* (ascetic), *rawdīyyāt* (gardens) and *zahriyyāt* (flowers) (Jacobi 1987c:46). All these subgenres were to be continued in Andalusian poetry.

The compositional structure of the qasīd. The sections taxalluṣ, istiṭrād and the xurūj.

If we analyse the polythematic *qasīda* of the 'neoclassical' period, we see first the opening lines (*ibtidā'āt*), which have the function of a title of the poem. This part functions as the 'entry' of the composition. Ibn Rašīq says: "Poetry is a lock, and the beginning is its key; it behooves the poet to make the beginning of his poem good, for it is the first thing that strikes the ear" (Scheidlin 1974:16). A poet is praised for his skills, especially when he turns out to be a good composer of a well-sounding opening line.⁹ As we pointed out, the urban *qasīd* consists of the sections *nasīb*, the *raḥīl* and finally the *faxr*. Traditionally, a new theme is introduced by the formula 'da' dā' (= "but no more of this").¹⁰ This formula became a cliché so that the poets began to ridicule it, as for instance Abū Tammām¹¹ did, introducing his panegyric section with the variation "da' c anka da' dā idā 'ntaqalta ilā l-madh' (= "no more of «no more of this»"). Transitions of this kind are indicated with the technical term (*ḥusn al-*) *taxalluṣ*. This transition may not exceed the length of one line and the terms *xurūj* and *istiṭrād* are used as synonyms.¹² According to some theoreticians there exists a difference between these three technical terms. The *istiṭrād* is a mere ornamental section, the wandering off to an indiscriminate other theme, and the *xurūj*

8 The other enemies are 'ādīl[fa] (the censorer) who can be a man or a woman and the *wāṣī*, the 'vilifier' (also *nāmī*), the 'tittle-tattle' who makes the love-affair a theme of scandalous gossip. Other 'stock figures' are the 'reproacher' ('*ātiba*, usually feminine), who criticizes the poet for his passion and the 'spy' or 'watcher' (*raqīb*), whose jealous eye is always on the girl and prevents the lover from being alone with her (see *infra*: 8.2.2.1).

9 In van Gelder (1982b:30) we can get an impression of how this process operated: "No poet ever began (a poem) with a better beginning than that of Aws Ibn Hajar [...]. (there follow the three lines), because he opened the elegy with an utterance (*bi-lafz*) whereby he expressed the way he was going in his poem ("naṭaq bihī 'alā l-madḥab alladī dahab ilayhā minhā fī l-qasīda"), thereby making you aware of his attention in the first line ("fa-aṣ'araka murādahū fī awwal bayt"). This is the highest praise that can be given to poetry or a poet. He said. And the words of Abū Du'ayb, for he begins, at the opening of his words, with an indication of his final aim ("fī-annahū 'btada' kalāmahū fī awwalihī bimā dall 'alā āxir ḡaradihī')." Van Gelder (1982b:32-33).

10 Habīb b. Aws Abū Tammām lived from 804 to 845.

12 For a concise description of the *taxalluṣ* see van Gelder (1982b:33): "The oldest text by a critic dealing with the transition to the *madīḥ* seems to be a passage by Abū 'Ubayda, quoted in al-Hātimī's *Ḥilya*. The best transition (*taxalluṣ*) of the Arabs (i.e. in early poetry) by which they passed on from weeping on the traces (of the abandoned camp), the description of the camels, the carrying away of the women and the parting from the neighbours, without *da' dā* or '*addi 'ammā tarā* [...], within the limits of one line (*min ṣadr ilā 'ajuz*)..." See also Hamori (1974:106-112).

is a real segmentation of discourse. According to others, the *istiṭrād* has the function of returning to the main theme and the *xurūj* introduces a new theme.¹³ The poets of the Ayyūbids had a great predilection for the rhetorical figure *ḥusn al-taxalluṣ* and as Rikābī states (1949:275), they did not feel the necessity to use such clichés as ‘*da*’ or ‘*xalli*’ and only exceptionally a poet makes an abrupt transition.

Van Gelder adds an interesting parallel between the section called *taxalluṣ* and Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry. In Persia, the poet normally concludes his *ḡazal* with a *taxalluṣ* which has the function of introducing his nick-name. Van Gelder observes: “so that the term *xarja*, the last line of a *muwashshaḥa*, has affinities with *xurūj*, the usual synonym of *taxalluṣ* (...). Finally the meaning of the word *taxalluṣ* is very well compatible with the sense of “the last verse” (Van Gelder 1982b:143 n.202). Here we find an interesting parallel between the *qaṣīd* and the *muwašṣaḥ*, which I shall discuss below.

8.2 Themes in *tawṣīḥ*-poetry

Arabic sources dealing with thematic features of *tawṣīḥ* poetry

Ibn Bassām informs us that “[The *muwašṣahāt*] are metrical patterns that the people of al-Andalus used copiously in the [erotic genres of] *ḡazal* and *nasīb*, such that carefully guarded bosoms and even hearts, are broken upon hearing them.”¹⁴ Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk tells us in his *Dār al-Ṭirāz* that the subjects of the *muwašṣaḥ* are identical with those of classical poetry: “The *muwašṣaḥ* treats of the same subject as the various kinds of *šī‘r*, i.e. love, praise, mourning (*martīyya*), invective (*hijā’*), frivolity (*mujūn*), and asceticism (*zuhd*).” Ibn Xaldūn makes the same observation when he says “In this genre one makes erotic or panegyric verses as in the *qaṣīda*” (Stern 1974:42). In the treatise of al-Hillī, we read exactly the same observation, and we saw earlier in chapter six that the classification of al-Hillī of the *zajal* is based on thematic features. He subdivided the *zajal* into the *zajal* in the strict sense (love and wine), *bullayq* (comic-obscene), *qarqī* (satirical) and *mukaffir* (didactic) (Balke s.a.:46).

The disposition and accumulation of themes in the *muwašṣaḥ*; the *tamhīd*
According to Ibn Xaldūn, the *muwašṣaḥ* is used, like the *qaṣīd* for erotic and laudatory poetry.¹⁵ Ibn Bassām informs us also that the *ḡazal* and the

13 See van Gelder (1982b 32-37, 89-94) and Shiloah (1972 128) [*al-Kātib*-I, II, 388] In Hispano-Hebrew liturgical poetry the term *xurūj* had also the function of intermediary poem or lines between several compositions (Zwartjes 1994f)

14 Arabic text “wa-ḥiya awzānun kaṭura sti’ mālu ahli l-andalusī lahā fī l-ḡazalī wa l-nasībī, tuṣāqqu ‘alā samā’i-hā masūnātu l-juyūbī bal al-qulūbī” (Monroe 1985-1986 121)

15 Rosenthal (1967 II 440 ff).

nasīb are favourite among the Andalusians. Since the so-called invention was a great success from the 11th to the 14th century - they were not only imitated in al-Andalus but also in the *Mašriq* - we find various adaptations of the *muwaššah*. Like the *qaṣīda*, many *muwaššahāt* are polythematic. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk informs us in his *Dār* about the accumulation of themes in the *muwaššah*:

It is the convention of the poets in most of the panegyric *muwaššahāt* to close the poems by an erotic theme (*ġazal*) and to pass from (*yaxruju*) the panegyric (*madḥ*) to it just as one passes from [the introductory] *ġazal* to the *madḥ*.¹⁶

There are several adaptations of this genre and we know that not only religious *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl*, but also secular *muwaššahāt* with the thematic features of the *muḥdaṭūn* are very popular. The panegyric *muwaššah* is a direct continuation of the panegyric *qaṣīd*, as far as themes are concerned. One problem that confronted the poets was the fixed length of the *muwaššah*, which is shorter than the *qaṣīd*. According to the prescriptions of the theoreticians, the panegyric *muwaššah* must start with a *nasīb*,¹⁷ and the transition to the next section, the *madīḥ* must be realized abruptly. In continuation, the poet had to make a transition to the final section in the *tamhīd*, the penultimate unit where we can find the transitional and introductory formulas which prepares the shift of focus (style, register, *dramatis personae*). The sequence of themes is not always realized smoothly and sometimes seems to be quite forced, which means that the rhetoric and aesthetics of classical poetry are violated, as the following passage on the *qaṣīd* by Ibn Xaldūn explains:

It is the intention of the poet to give each verse an independent meaning. Then, in the next verse, he starts anew, in the same way, with some other (matter). He changes over from one (poetical) type to another, and from one topic to another, by preparing the first topic and the ideas expressing it in such a way that it becomes related to the next topic. *Sharp contrasts are kept out of the poem* (italics are mine. Rosenthal 1967:III:373).

The shift in the *tamhīd* marks not only a shift of the poetical person (shift from the masculine *muwaššah* to a *xarja*, which are often expressed by woman), but also from the specific to the universal and from the serious style (*jidd*) to the more light or amusing section which concludes the poem (*hazl*).¹⁸ It must be noticed that the shift between the body of the poem with the introductory formula *yā rubba* introducing a singing girl, is not

16 Rikābī (1949:38) *apud* Almladh (1992-93a:17).

17 See García Gómez (1972:III:247).

18 Cf. Abu Haidar (1978).

only found in the Hispano-Arabic *muwaššahāt*, but also in a poem from Abū Nuwās (Hamori 1974:114). The technique of constructing the *muwaššah* with its particular accumulation of topics and themes can be explained from intra-Arabic features and is inherited directly from the pre-Islamic period and the urban Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd *qaṣīd*. Finally, we may quote a passage in the prologue of Ibn Quzmān where he mentions the beautiful transition made by the poet Aṭṭal b. Numāra from the *ḡazal* to the *madīḥ*, using explicitly the verb *taxallaṣa* in the phrase “*yataxallaṣu min al-taḡazzuli ilā l-madīḥ*”. The use of the word *taxallaṣa* directly refers to the term *taxalluṣ* (or *xurūj*).

The tamhīd

Ibn Sanāʾ al Mulk tells us that the *xarja* is a separate unit, different from the poem itself. This is evident in the *xarja*-s which are put into the mouth of someone who is not the poet himself. Nevertheless, there are also many *xarja*-s where the poet himself is also the speaker of the *xarja*. The poet can also quote the words of a colleague. The *xarja*-s which are not expressed by the poet can be regarded as semi-quotations. In practice, many have been composed indeed by the poet himself, but he puts his words into the mouth of someone else, shifting the focus. The poet lets another person, frequently a girl, sing what he wants him/her to sing. In a panegyric, the poet praises his lord or maecenas, using the voice of a girl for instance, just as if this girl addressed her words to the person to whom the panegyric is dedicated. Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk informs us that the person who expresses the *xarja* can also be a drunkard and his language can be thieves' slang (*luḡat al-dāṣṣa*). Although I did not find such thieves in our texts, it is not unlikely that Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk described a practice which really existed. Drunkards have been recorded and the *nunc est bibendum*-theme was frequently used, for instance in a *muwaššaha* of Y^chūdāh ibn Gabbīrōl, or in a *xarja* of al-Šuštārī (Corriente 1988:70) where someone asks how he can get to the wine-merchant in the Christian district of the town. Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk also tells us that the words can be put into the mouth of animals, inanimate subjects, or even abstract concepts. He gives us some examples, and in our *corpus* many *muwaššahāt* follow this practice. The words of a *xarja* can be pronounced by Doves, Love, Authority, Time, or Battle.

8.3 The themes of the *xarja*-s

8.3.1 The themes of the Arabic *xarja*-s from Arabic *muwaššahāt*

8.3.1.1 Classical themes in Arabic *xarja*-s in Arabic *muwaššahāt*

Of course, a rigid distinction between classical and colloquial *xarja*-s does not reflect the reality, and similarly a distinction between Romance and Arabic *xarja*-s cannot be justified either, because in colloquial Arabic *xarja*-s Romance elements can be used and even classical inflections can

be added and this happens in varying proportions.

According to the prescriptions of Ibn Sanā' al Mulk, the *xarja* must be in classical Arabic speech, when the poem is a panegyric. It is remarkable that in our *corpus*, classical Arabic is indeed used for panegyrics, but it is obvious that frequently colloquial or even Romance *xarja*-s can be used with the same purpose. The classical diction in the *xarja*-s is also used when a quotation of classical poetry is involved. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk tells us that "Sometimes the *xarja* is in classical language even if it does not contain the name of a person eulogized. But the condition is that its expressions should be erotic and moving, enchanting, alluring, germane to passion" (Stern 1974:33). An example of a *xarja* in classical Arabic written in a popular, or popularising style is the following fragment:

A lover, in this case a girl, complains in classical diction that the beloved tore her cloak and tousled her hair, showing her passion.

Ibn Baqiyy (Monroe 1977:n°19; *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, n°27):

wāḥāsratī wa-má qad jará lī
lā^cabtu-hú fa-mázzaqa dálī
wa-daláli¹⁹

"Woe to me; what has become of me!/ I sported with him and he tore my cloak/ and my curls".

An example of a panegyric in classical diction is the following *xarja*, although not all required inflectional endings are indicated. A girl addresses a panegyric to the Berber tribe Kannūnī:

Anonymous (Monroe 1977:n°43):

ánta l-múnā táhlū
fa-trúk kaláma n-nás
wá-dxul má^cī ílfī
mítla š-šaráb fī l-kás
yá kannúnī
káy mā túsallí-nī

"You, my desire, are sweet/ Forget what people say/ Enter with me, my love/ Like wine in the cup/ O Kannūnī,/ To divert me".

19 In the chapters 8 and 9, I do not always give the entire text of the *xarja* in question. Sometimes I quote only a relevant line or hemistich.

8.3.1.2 The elements of colloquial Arabic *xarja*-s from the Arabic collection

The overwhelming majority of all *xarja*-s belong to the erotic and panegyric category, and because most are intended to be sung, they could be classified as 'love-songs'. The *topoi* fit very well into the Arabic tradition of *gazel*-poetry. A considerable number, but a minority, has panegyric, religious, bacchic or political themes.

I. *Central figures. The dramatis personae*

The question of the shift of focus from the first person-narrator (the poet, and sometimes the poetess) to the quotation of the words of another person who expresses his feelings for a certain beloved sometimes complicates the interpretation. We must always remember that the first person-narrator or singer of the *xarja* is not always the same person as the poet himself. In most cases, the poet expresses his feelings not directly but indirectly, according to the current techniques.

- a Three persons, the enemies of love, are almost always present in Arabic, and Hispano-Arabic erotic poetry, and sometimes they are mentioned in the *xarja* itself: the *raqīb*, ('the spy', 'the watcher'),²⁰ the *wāšī* ('the backbiter') and the *ʿādil[a]* ('the censurer', 'the reproacher'). The *raqīb* is the most important of the three in erotic poetry. In the *muwaššahāt*, the girl, who wants to meet her beloved, mocks the *raqīb* (García Gómez 1975:105), the lovers profit by a moment of inadvertence of the *raqīb* (García Gómez:157), or the *raqīb* queers the pitch for the lovers with his intervention (García Gómez 1975:175), and therefore, the lovers are afraid of the *raqīb* (Ibn Xātima IV,2, ed. Gibert Fenech 1975). We find the *raqīb* in the following *xarja*-s:

Al-Manīšī (Ġāzī 1979:I:322):

alḥabīb ḥujīb ʿanni fi dāru,
waniríd nasál ʿannu [li]jāru,
wanixáf raqīb alḥibbi:
wáš naʿmállu, ya rábbi?/.

"Se me ha ocultado al amado en su casa; quisiera preguntar por él al vecino, pero temo a quien espía al amado: ¿Qué haré con él, Señor?" (Corriente 1987:n^o4),²¹ or:

20 The analogy between these personalities and the Provençal *gardador* and *lausengier* has frequently been emphasized (see for example, Le Gentil 1954:101). For the enemies of love in Arabic literature, see Pérès (1937:417-420), Fish (1976:75) and Beeston (1977:8). This subject was also treated by Ibn Hazm (García Gómez:1952¹, 1985: Chapters XVI, XVIII and XIX) and Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Xātima (14th century treatise: *Al-Faṣl al-ʿAdil bayna al-raqīb wa-l-wāšī wa-l-ʿādil* (Gibert Fenech:1975).

Ibn Sahl (Ġāzī 1979:II:194):

háḍa + rraqīb ma + swáh bižánn! / áš law kan + l'insán murīb? /
ya máwlati, qúm ná^cmalu / dák alladī zánn + arraqīb/. (AQ:n°6)

“¿Qué mal pensado es este espía! ¿Qué sería si uno diera sospechas? Ea señora mía, hagamos lo que imagina el espía”, or:

Ibn Sahl (Ġāzī 1979:II:206):

xallí arraqīb ya^cmál/ ráyu, wadáni ná^cšaqu...

“Deja que el espía haga su gusto, déjame amarlo a él...”. (AQ:n°69)

In another *xarja*, the first person addresses his/her words directly to the watcher:

Ibn Yannaq (Ġāzī 1979:I:504):

ya rraqīb, náfsak tibaḡḡaḍ/ watiríd an táksab + a^cdá;
láš tukún, ya + bni, mušarra^c/ ma tixallíh sá^ca yahdá?/.

“Espía, te haces odioso y vas a ganar enemigos: ¿por qué eres, hijo mío, obstinado, y no te das sosiego un momento?”. (AQ:n°24)

The chaperon (Sp. *ensor*) is the central figure who keeps an eye on the lovers and prevents them from doing naughty things. In many *xarja*-s, public opinion is referred to, and the following example shows the neglect of what people might say:

Anonymous (*Dār*, n°16; Fish 1976:26; Monroe 1977:n°43):

fa-trúk kalāma n-nās

“Forget what people say”.²²

The brothers

Not only the three enemies of love are involved. The brothers are also mentioned as analogous *personae* who might be an obstacle for the lovers:

Ibn Zuhr (*Udda* n°42):

/jī ḥabībi ḡi + lláyla jí
/ixwati ḡábu lam yijú/

“Ven, amado mío, esta noche, ven; se han marchado mis hermanos y no han venido”. (Ad:15)

21 I use the following abbreviations for the two articles of Corriente. AQ for his article “Las *xarajāt* en árabe andalusí” in *Al-Qantara* (1987) and Ad for his article “Adiciones procedentes de la «*Uddat aljalīs*» in the *RIEEM* (1993-1994)

22 Cf Monroe & Swiatlo (1977 n°19)

Apparently, the *zalmedina* (*ṣāḥib +lmadína*) is also a person of whom lovers must be afraid, according to the Anonymous *xarja* in ‘*Uddat* n°228:

waniríd walis najjarrá wanixáf ṣāḥib +lmadína.²³

“..., y yo quiero y no me atrevo, porque temo al zalmedina” (Ad:42-3; cf. IQ 98/5/4-5).

- b The lover addresses him/herself to the beloved or a third person in the first person, using the vocative *yā*, which occurs very frequently (in 48 of the 135). The poet had the following varieties at his disposal in his ‘repertoire’:

ya ’abí (‘my father’) (‘*Udda* n°13); *ya ’ajab* (‘wonder’) (86);²⁴ *ya axi* (‘my brother’) (127); *ya ’ámmi* (litt. ‘my uncle, my dear’, Sp. ‘tío’)²⁵ (5;94); *ya amír annás* (‘emir of the people’) (70); *ya l-asmár* (‘brown’, ‘dark’) (37;39); *ya +bni* (‘my son’) (24;101; ‘*Udda* n°58); *ya fulán* (‘thingummy’) (79); *ya ġarīb* (‘stranger’) (125); *ya ġazáli* (‘my gazelle’) (52); *ya ḥabíbi* (‘my sweetheart’, ‘lover’) (52); *ya ḥibbi* (‘my love’) (80;99); *ya ḥamáman xaláq* (‘cock-pigeon-thief’) (130); *ya jannán* (‘gardener’) (126); *ya xáli* (‘my uncle’, ‘my dear’) (84;94); *ya xalíli* (‘my friend’); *ya miskín* (‘poor’) (125); *ya maḥbúbi* (‘my sweetheart’, ‘lover’) (9); *ya máwlati* (‘my lady’) (6); [*ya*] *mámma* (‘mother’) (92); *ya muđíni* (‘my injurer’) (130); *ya qawm* (‘people’) (100;121; ‘*Udda* n°67); *ya qáwmi* (‘my people’) (23;56;117; ‘*Udda* n°313); *ya rabbi* (‘Sir’) (4;64;67; ‘*Udda* n°16); *ya raqíb* (‘spy’) (24); *ya raśá* (‘fawn’) (13); *ya rasúli* (‘messenger’) (47); *ya ṣabí* (‘my baby’) (‘*Udda* n°13) *ya ṣabíyyi* (‘my baby’) (38); *ya ṣāḥib+addukán* (‘shopkeeper’) (41); *ya ṣāḥib+al’aynin+alkibár* (‘he, who has large eyes’) (52); *ya ṣāḥb+al’uwaynát alwiqáh* (‘he, who has little daring eyes’) (113); *ya sámra* (‘brunette’) (58); *ya ṣayyáda* (‘hunters’) (62); *ya sítti* (‘my lady’) (30;58); *ya sulṭán* (‘sultan’) (113; ‘*Udda* n°264); *ya ṭáyran malíḥ* (‘lovely bird’) (97); *ya ṭáyran mudallál* (‘spoiled bird’) (57); *ṭayra muḥalliqa* (‘flying bird’) (103); *ṭayran murawwá* (‘timid bird’) (61; ‘*Udda* n°299); *ya uxt* (‘sister’) (44); *ya umma* (‘mother’) (93); *ya úmmi* (‘my mother’) (56); *ya záyn al-’aśír* (‘adornment of the clan’) (58).

Vocatives without the particle *ya* and interjections:

bannabí (‘By the prophet’) (‘*Udda* n°16); *amír* (‘emir’) (128)
hubáyyabi (‘little love’) (37); *maḥbúbi* (‘my beloved’) (10); *mámma* (‘mother’) (Ad:12).

²³ Jones: *ṣāḥib madínā*

²⁴ The numbers and the translations of the *xarja*-s are from Corriente (1987).

²⁵ This word must not be understood literally, but has affective connotations (Corriente 1984:347).

Non-personal and inanimate vocatives:

ya qálbi ('heart') (43); ya láylu ('night') (72).

- c The first person²⁶ of the *xarja* mentions the name of the praised or the beloved.

cAlī ('Udda, n°176), ḥabībi 'Abdallāhi ('Abd Allāh, my love') ('Udda n°19; 63) Aḥmad, mahbūbi ('Aḥmad, my beloved') (11) or ḥabībi Aḥmād ('my dear Aḥmad') (22); Sa'īd (29); ya Ḥafṣa (34), ḥúbbi limúsa ('my love for Músa') (40); Abu ḥafṣī hu sultāni ('Abu Ḥafṣ is my sultan') (89); málík aljamáli yúsuḥ aban farāj ('The King of beauty, Yūsuf b. Faraj') ('Udda n°48); ya sussān aban ṭālḥa (Sussān b. Ṭālḥa) ('Uddat n°64); muḥammad aḥabībi ('Muḥammad my love') ('Udda n°66); Muḥammad b. 'Umār ('Udda n°123); Ibn Sa'ada ('Udda n°118), Yaḥyā ('Udda n°s 323; 315), Ibn Abī 'Abda ('Udda n°303) and Banī Tābit ('Udda n°214). In two *xarja*-s the poet mentions in a comparison the names of al-Ma'mūn, Yaḥyā b. Dinnūn (131) and Ġaylān (134).

In many cases, we do not know who all these persons are, but sometimes we see well-known individuals, such as the poet-King al-Mu'taṣim, King of Almería (1051-1091). Ibn 'Ubāda composed the following *xarja* ('Uddat n°138):

/ya ḥábbada+ lmaḥraján/ rámlan yinám/ kal'ánbar lalwáti
walfúlki kal'iqbán/ walmu'taṣám/ bal'áskar/ faššati/

"¿Qué hermoso Año Nuevo: arena de olor de ámbar a quien la huella, y las naves como águilas, y al-Mu'taṣim con la tropa en la playa". (Ad:28).²⁷

Ibn 'Ubāda mentions two Taifa Kings in a *xarja*, the same al-Mu'taṣim and al-Mu'taḍid (Dār n°21; Fish 1976:32).

- d The beloved is a neighbour.

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:II:538):

ḥabībi, ánta jári;
darak bijánbi dári, watahjúrni?

"Mi amado, cres mi vecino; tu casa está junto a la mía, y ¿me abandonas?". (AQ:n° 108), or:

26 In the following survey, we use the simplification 'first-person', for the person who expresses or sings the *xarja* (the grammatical first person). In many cases this is a girl or the poet himself. We must also bear in mind that many *xarja*-s have been written in the third person, and animals and inanimate objects can also be the 'first person', as we have seen already.

27 Almladh also demonstrated that this *xarja* is almost a literal reduplication of the preceding *gusn* (1992-93a 18).

Anonymous (‘Udda n°143):

maḥbúbi hu [wa]jári

“es mi amado y mi vecino”. (Ad:27)

e The messenger (*rasúl*).

The person in love asks the messenger to bring news:

Al-Abyaḍ (Ġāzī 1979:I:402):

balláh, rasúl, qul lalxalī [sic]/ kíf assabí/ wa yibít ‘índi..

“Por Dios, mensajero, di al amigo de qué modo dormirá conmigo...”. (AQ:n°25);²⁸ and in another *xarja* of Ibn Sa‘īd (Ġāzī 1979:I:519), the first person asks the messenger why the full moon is hiding:

bállah, qúlli, ya rasúli, láš yiġfb bádri. (AQ:n°47)

Closely related to the person of the *rasúl*, the tidings, good or bad (*xabar*) are a very frequently used theme. The first person says that this news (of the love-affair) is fresh news (40), or that the case (of being in love) has been made public (41), that the history is well-known (42). In two other *xarja*-s the news has not been made public yet, and the first person wants to tell the news to the beloved (55) who might be interested in the news (76), or to the mother (97).

f The teacher, or master (*mu‘allám*).

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:II:661):

nibít ḍalláyla bárra
‘ala ġáyž almu‘allám/.

“Pasaré esta noche fuera, pese al amo”. (AQ:n°91)

g The lover invokes his/her mother,

saying that he/she is not able to say “No”:

Ibn al-Xabbāz (Ġāzī 1979:I:113); Al-A‘mā (‘Abbās 1963:256):

mámma, ya‘šáqni ḍalfatá/, wala nadrí limáḍa/ wala naqwí nuqúl la/.

“Madre, me ama este joven, y no sé por qué, no soy capaz de decir no”. (AQ:n°78)

saying that it was not the old, but rather the new friend:

Al-Manīšī (Ġāzī 1979:I:325):

28 Cf. ‘Udda n°248.

[kán] alxalíl aljadíd, úmma,/[ma] kán alqadím ḥállu.

“Fue el amigo nuevo, madre; no había sido el antiguo”. (AQ:n°81)

In another *xarja*, the lover threatens to tell everything to his/her mother:

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:I:328):

hajám ʿaláyya waqabbál fúmmi:
sanaqúlha lúmmi/.

“Se me abalanzó y me besó en la boca; se lo diré a mi madre”. (AQ:n°95),
or:

Ibn Xātima (Ġāzī 1979:II:464):

ṣabí jurīḥ fannaxíl:/ rášša+ lḥabáq dámmu;
balláh, ya ṭáyran malīḥ,/ qul alxabár lúmmu/.

“Un chico fue herido en el palmeral, y su sangre salpicó las albahacas;
pardiez, pájaro hermoso, cuenta el caso a su madre”. (AQ:n°97)

In a *xarja* of a *muwaššaha* by Ibn Zuhri (Ġāzī 1979:II:115), the first person
sings that his/her lover was the only neighbour who saw him/her:

wáḥid hu, ya úmmi, min jiráni ráni/.

“El es el único, madre, de mis vecinos que me ha visto”. (AQ:n°122)

Also the ‘Romance’ word *mamma* is used by Ibn al-Xāṭīb (ʿInānī
1988:n°36):

áš yikun mámma [man] maḍá bádrū waxafá káwkabu...

“¿Qué será, madre, de quien pierde su luna llena y se le oculta su astro?...”.
(Ād:12):²⁹

h The first person invokes his/her sister.

Ibn Sahl (Ġāzī 1979:II:212):

taḥúkki min assaná xáddi, ya +xt+ áš ḍalḥasád waḍalqúdra?

“Restriegas tu brillo en mi mejilla; hermana, ¿qué son esta envidia y este
poder?”. (AQ:n°45)

i The invocation of the father.

Anonymous (ʿUdda n° 11):

29 In the *xarja* of *zajal* n°76/7/4 we read ʿašáqtu MÁMMA, AD EŠT aljárī, ʿalf lḫumári!
 (“Madre, mi amor del todo es este mozo, el pillo de ‘Alī’”) (Corriente 1989:155).

...wáš na^cmál yá 'abí

“¿qué haré, padre mío?”. (Ad:11)

j The invocation to the Lord.

Anonymous ('Udda n°14):

...wáš na^cmál + a rábbi

“¿qué haré, Señor?”. (Ad:12)

k The invocation to the Muslims.

Anonymous ('Udda n°217):

/áš na^cmal + a muslimín...

“¿Qué he de hacer, musulmanes?”. (Ad:39)³⁰

l Minor professions are the glazier (*zajjāj*) (AQ: no19), the shop owner (*šāḥib addukkán*) and the barkeeper, who is also called more discretely a 'perfume dealer' (AQ:n°41). In a *xarja* by al-Šābūnī ('Udda n°141), the beloved is a tailor:

/nadáytu fal'asmát/ na^cšaq šabí xayyát/ amá + xyaṭu
mimma yixíṭ anmát/ ^caṭnúnu balfirrát/ munáqqatu/

“Voceo por las calles: quiero a un sastrecillo, y ¿qué buen sastre! De tanto coser tapices, el mentón tiene manchado de tinte”. (Ad:28)

Not always can the lover be identified. In an anonymous *xarja* ('Udda n°119 and its *mu'āraḍa* in 120), the address of the beloved is unknown:

lis nádri dāru/ la wala xabár min axbāru/ qad qatálni nifāru;

“No conozco su casa, ni noticia suya alguna: me ha matado su desdén”. (Ad:23)³¹

II. Toponyms. Names of people. Nature versus city-life.

Andalusian poetry is full of urban elements, as we can see in the use of the names of cities, the streets (“la šákka bassimát hu ḥabīb qálbi jalis ma^c almiláḥ”) ³² or the market-place as meeting-places for lovers, etc. Not only Andalusian cities are mentioned (*išbilya* = Seville); ³³ we also find Maghri-

30 In the *zajal* n°142/5/4 of Ibn Quzmān we find the expression *áš na^cmál?* (“What must I do?”) without mentioning the person to whom the phrase is directed (Corriente 1980:890).

31 Cf. the *xarja* by Ibn Zuhri (Corriente 1987 n°23).

32 'Udda n°61. (“Without any doubt his beloved is sitting in the street among the sweethearts”). In 'Udda n°313 we read “yā qawmī mā (a)ktar ^cuššāqī/lā yabraḥū min zuqāqī/” (“Oh my people, How many adore me, without abandoning my street!”).

bian cities, such as Fās (*‘Udda* n°13). Two lovers meet each other in front of the house, or in the street, rather than in the countryside. Exceptions must be made. In a *xarja* by Ibn Yannaq (Monroe 1977: n°33; *Jayš*:138), we find the *topos* of the dark-skinned girl who stole the heart of the poet in the middle of a river-valley (*wādī*) (“samrah fī waṣṭi wādī/ thāmm salabtī-nī fu’ādī”).³⁴ Another example of a *xarja* which is situated in a non-urban context is written by the poet *‘Ubāda al-Marwī*³⁵ (*‘Udda* n°138), where the context is the shore.

- a In the *corpus* of Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s from the Arabic series, not many toponyms are mentioned. We found the following:

Baghdad is mentioned as the residence of the caliph (*abaǧdād adār amīr almuslimīn*) (*‘Udda* n°271); *Ṭabīra* (*‘Uddat* n°214); *Fās* (*‘Udda* n°13); *aljazīra* (AQ:n°59); *min Sijilmāsatin wamin Ġafša* (AQ:n°3).

Sometimes, there are references to politics, as in this example of al-Abyaḍ (Ġāzī 1979:I:275):

ma^c walī allāhi naǧzū/ ǧāzwatan bimīṣri waššām"
nāhzam+ aljāyš al^cubāydi,/ wanarūdd+ aššī^ca islām.

“Con el protegido de Dios haremos campaña en Egipto y Siria, derrotaremos al ejército fatimí, y haremos de la *šī‘a* islam”. (AQ:n°98);

In another *xarja* the Kingdom of Iraq is mentioned (*mulk l-‘Irāq*) (AQ: n°114). We find also a *xarja* (Monroe 1977:n°26; AQ:n°117), in which the words are put into the mouth of the Kingdom, who sings a woman’s song to celebrate a change of rulers. Christian countries are mentioned in a *xarja* of a *muwaššaha* of Ibn al *‘Arabī* (Ġāzī 1979:II:286):

watarák *‘aynīyya* muḍ taṭlā^c saḥār/ libilād arrúm

“and my eyes would see you when you left for Christian territories”. (AQ: n°101), and in an anonymous *xarja* (Ġāzī 1979:II:631):

habībi fi qabān marqúm kama já min bilād arrúm

“My lover wore an embroidered coat when he came from Christian territories”. (AQ:n°102).

In one *muwaššaha* of Ibn Xātima (Ġāzī 1979:II:455), the poet quotes a *xarja* (AQ:n°112) in which the first person says that he is in love with a Christian boy, but that he cannot speak the language, and that he now

33 The text of the first line of this *xarja* is (“Seville is awaiting him since ancient times”) Ibn Zuhri (*‘Udda* n°115). Seville is also mentioned in another *xarja* by Ibn Zuhri (*‘Udda* n°166).

34 Monroe observed that the meeting of the lovers in a *wādī* could be a literary allusion to the scenario of the *‘Udrite* poetry (Monroe 1977:124:n.21).

35 According to Corriente, his name is probably al-Marī (1993-94:28:n.38).

resembles a lover with interpreter (šabí °ašaqtu rúmi/ wiš naḥfaẓ allisán/ assá° aná nišakal/ °ášiḡ biturjumán/).

The Berbers

Kannūnī, a Berber tribe, is mentioned in Monroe (1977:n°43; *Dār*: n°16; Fish 1976:26), and in a *xarja* of Ibn Baqiyy (°*Udda* n°139), we read the following lines:

/hawá zābyat+ albarābir/ ḥājji waribāṭi
ta°jābni šunúf alaḡán/ jidda walqaṭāṭi/

“El amor de la gacela bereber es mi peregrinación y milicia: mucho me placen los zarcillos y los moños”. (Ad:28)

Christians and Jews

In one *xarja*, the poet lets the lover say that he is only able to love a Christian with an interpreter. In the *xarja* of *zajal* n°89 by Ibn Quzmān, we see the Jewish name Ibn Mīqa. In the context of the poem, the Jew is a banker.³⁶

b (City)-gardens, nature, flora and fauna

In both Eastern classical Arabic poetry and Andalusian classical Arabic poetry, descriptions of gardens are omnipresent. It must be observed that the poet does not always describe a real garden, but in many cases the words for flora and fauna are metaphors for the beloved. I have already emphasized the urban context and gardens. In the Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s we find many traditional metaphors that have been taken from the stock of classical Arabic poetry:

Animals used as a metaphor

The lover is a gazelle (*ḡazal*) (52) or a fawn (*rašā*) (13). Birds are also frequently used as a metaphor (*ṭáyir* in °*Udda* n°137, or °*ašfúrat* in °*Udda* n°183), as we saw in our list of invocations, quoted earlier. The bird is normally fugitive *ṭáyir alharrāb* (°*Udda* n°91). Another frequently used metaphor is the dove *ḥamam* (°*Udda* n°57; 84). In one anonymous *xarja* (°*Udda* n°338), the lover says that when he/she kisses the mouth of the beloved, whom he calls a goldfinch, it tastes like sugar and licorice:

fúmmak id nibús/ yiṭṭbli ya miqlíni/ súkkar wa°urúq sús

“Cuando beso tu boca, mi jilguero, me sabe a azúcar y regaliz”. (Ad:25)

The heart of the first person has been metamorphosed into a ‘weeping

36 “Sin duda un judío dedicado a estas operaciones bancarias. La *ḥawāla* o *ihāla* consiste en saldar una deuda mediante la transferencia al acreedor del adeudo de otra persona” (Corriente 1989 304: n.7).

willow', which is a metaphor of slenderness, weakness or shivering. (AQ:nº118).

A description of a garden can be found in a *xarja* of Ibn Xātima (Ġāzī 1979:II:446):

ʿala yamīni líma,/ waquddámi rayḥána,
walʿarīš nassáj/ qad ʿánaq lirummána/.

"A mi diestra hay una lima, y ante mí, un arrayán, y el emparrado es un tejedor, abrazado a una granada". (AQ:nº115)

The context of gardens is also reflected in a *xarja* of Ibn al-ʿArabī (Ġāzī 1979:II:260) with the allusion to a gardener who has to take the jasmin and leave the myrtle for the lovers (126). A similar *xarja* was written by Ibn Zuhri (ʿUdda nº266).

The *locus amoenus* of the garden is not as wonderful as the union between lovers:

Ibn Quzmān (52/8/4-5):

ʿaššarāb walḡiná wajáry almá/ fi riyáḍan ʿajīb
háḍu kúllu ʿulála hi ʿíndi/ liwiṣál alḡabīb

"Canto, vino, fluir de agua en prodigioso jardín/ todo ello es poco junto a la unión con amante".

The wind and the rain:

Al-Manīšī (Ġāzī 1979:I:328):

alʿāšiq+ almiskín/ ṭála hámmu:
láyl aššitá warriḥ,/ man yuḍúmmu?

"Larga es la cuita del pobre enamorado; en las noches de lluvia y viento, ¿quién lo abrazará?". (AQ:nº96)

A shop (*alfuṣṭát*) can also be a favourite spot in the *xarja*-s for making love:

Anonymous (ʿUdda nº8):

/la búd nisír ḡúdwa/ nará limahḡúbī
fi qúbbat+ alfuṣṭát/ wanáqḍi marḡúbī/

"He de ir mañana a ver a mi amado bajo la cúpula de la tienda y satisfacer mi deseo". (Ad:13)

III. *Union and separation*

- a An essential element in meetings and separations between lovers is greeting:

Al-Abyaḍ (Ġāzī 1979:I:293):

kúlli yáwm nuqrík, ya ḥíbbi salámi,/ wanasáyt át ḍimámi?/

“Cada día te mando saludos, amor mío, y ¿has olvidado mi fe?”. (AQ:nº99)

The returning of greetings is also found:

Ibn Zuhr (ʿInānī 1988:nº16):

rúdd+ assalám ya ṣabí bannabí...

“Devuelve el saludo, niño, por el Profeta”... (Ad:11)

- b The lover asks, requests or requires the immediate arrival of his/her lover.

The lover asks the beloved to come:

Al-Jazzār (Ġāzī 1979:I:102):

ama tijí, ya ṣabíyyi, ʿindí?...

“¿No vienes, niño mío conmigo?”. (AQ:nº38), or:

Ibn Xātima (Ġāzī 1979:II:480):

ḥulú kalʿasál,/ áyya, jí, áyya/.

“Dulce como la miel, ea, ven, ea”. (AQ:nº135)

This theme is very common in the *xarja*-s. The lover, who often is desperate, emphasizes the urgency of his words by using the repetition of the word *jí* (‘come’), or *jíni* (‘come to me’):

Al-Jazzār (Ġāzī 1979:I:83):

aḥmád, mahḥúbí,/ bannabí tijí,/
jíni, balláhi,/jí, ḥabíbi, jí.

“Aḥmad, querido mío, ven, por el Profeta, ven a mí, por Dios, ven, amado mío, ven.” (AQ:nº11). Or in the famous *xarja* of Ibn ʿArabī, also in the *zajal* nº66/6/4-5 of Ibn Quzmān:

ḥabíbi, in [or:ayn] akálta attufáh,/jī waʿmalli áḥ!37

37 Cf. Ibn Xātima: Ġāzī (1979:II:434). See also the *muʿāraḍa* of Aḥrāhām b. ʿEzrā (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:nº41:148).

“Amado mío, si has comido manzanas, ven y hazme ¡ah!” (AQ:nº17).³⁸

The first person offers his saliva to his beloved, or asks for a kiss:

Ibn al-Labbāna (Ġāzī 1979:I:222):

xabbál daláli/ wama^cák náhdi,/ táyran murawwá^c
waršúf ruḍábi/ waqabbál xáddi,/ ayyák tujazzá^c.

“Revuelve mi cabellera, estruja mi pecho, pájaro asustado, bebe mi saliva y besa mi mejilla, no te dejes apenar.” (AQ:nº61), or:

Al-Jazzār (Ġāzī 1979:I:99):

qubáyla falxáli,/ ya xáli,
faqála: fi fúmmi,/ ya ^cámmi/.

“¡Un beso en el lunar, tío! Dijo: «En mi boca, tío»” (AQ:nº94), or in a *xarja* whose author is unknown (Ġāzī 1979:II:632):

hajám ^caláyya waqabbál fúmmi:
sanaqúlha lúmmi/.

“Se me abalanzó y me besó en la boca; se lo diré a mi madre”. (AQ:nº95)

I found the theme of the straight invitation to the beloved “come and sleep with me” in the following *xarja*:

Ibn Ruḥaym (Ġāzī 1979:I:360):

/lay qíṣṣa tibít wáḥdak waná wáḥdi?
kama bíttu ^cíndak, jí, tibít ^cíndi/.

“¿Por qué has de dormir tú solo, y yo solo? Como dormí contigo, ven, duérme conmigo”. (AQ:nº27)

Al-A^cmā (Ġāzī 1979:I:299; ^cAbbās 1963:nº21):

xallí siwári waḥúl himyáni,/ ḥabíbi aḥmád,
waṭlā^c ma^cí lassarír, ḥayyúni,/ tarqúd mujarrád/.

“Deja mi brazalete y afloja mi cinto, mi amado Aḥmad; sube conmigo a la cama, ..., acuéstate desnudo”,³⁹ (AQ:nº22), or:

Al-Manīṣī (Ġāzī 1979:I:331):

...alwí biqálbi ^cináqak,/ faqúm biná ila+ ssarír/.

38 Other examples: ‘Udda nº41: “jini ya muná náfsi jí” (“Come to me, desire of my soul, come”); ‘Udda nº45: “jī [sic] habibi [sic] ḡi lláyla jí /ixwatī ḡábu. . /” (“Come, my love, come tonight; my brothers are absent...”).

39 The meaning off the word *ḥayyúni* is not clear. Corriente suggests “vida mía” (1987:213).

“...concede a mi corazon tu abrazo, y vámonos a la cama”. (AQ:n°58)

In another *xarja* the first person lets the beloved himself take the decision to come or to leave, showing in this way his/her dependence on such a decision: fadá^cu yahjúrni aw yişálni (“let him abandon me or come to me”) (AQ:n°15); waşálni bubákri aw hajárni,/ lís li ^caláyh falhawá iqtiráḥ (“Let Abū Bakr come to me or abandon me, in love I can wish nothing!”). In another *xarja* we can see that the first person can also take the initiative, expressing his/her own independence:

Ibn Sahl (Ġāzī 1979:II:237):

in yaḥtašám/ namší lu thám/ ^cala qadám/ aw yijí ^cindi...

“Si tiene vergüenza, irá a él allí a pie, o venga él a mí cuando quiera...” (AQ:n°29)

or as we read in another *xarja* of al-Jazzār (Ġāzī 1979:I:102): ...wanahdíknáhdí, wala niqaşşár, (“...te regalaré mi pecho, y no escatimaré”). (AQ:n°38)

- c The *ubi sunt*-theme and themes related to the absence of the beloved. The first person asks where he/she can find his/her lover, or asks for a meeting:

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:II:624):

áyn, áyn alḥabíb? amší lu/ qad šaqq+ albiḥár, alláh lu/.

“¿Dónde, dónde está el amado? Ve a él; ya ha cruzado los mares, Dios lo guarde”. (AQ:n°77)

In the following *xarja*, the first person asks when he/she can be joined with the lover:

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:II:592):

ḥabíbi maḍá ^cánni,/ matá najtamá^c má^cu?

“Mi amado partió de mi lado, ¿Cuándo me reuniré con él?”, (AQ:n°65) and the same theme can be found in a *xarja* of Ibn Zuhri (Ġāzī 1979:II:372), where the Lord is asked for help:

rábbi, ya rábbi, háḍa+ lḥabíb, ajmá^cni má^cu.

“¿Dios mío, Dios mío! Este amado, reúname con él”. (AQ:n°64)

And in the following *xarja*, we see the description of the impatience of the lover:

Ibn Zuhri (Ġāzī 1979:II:108):

a turà, ya qáwmi, áš hu ḡadá?
fáy makán yaskúnu aw níjadu?

“¿Qué será, gente mía, eso de «mañana»? ¿Dónde habita o lo encontraré?”, (AQ:nº23), or:

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:II:641-2):

ya ḥamáman xaláq, / ya muḍíni,
áyna ġibt + albáriḥ? lam tijíni/.⁴⁰

“Palomo ladrón, dañador mío, ¿dónde te ausentaste ayer, que no viniste a mí?”. (AQ:nº130)

d The lover wishes the separation

The separation between two lovers is not always a negative act, because sometimes it is the lover who desires the separation. In many *xarja*-s we find the term *múr*, which means ‘Go away!’. The first person wishes the lover to leave him, after having enjoyed the meeting:

Ibn Xātima (Ġāzī 1979:II:437):

qál man rák/ walís min+ asrák;
múr, ayyák, / ya náẓir, + ayyák, / aní+š nádri/.

“Pocos son los que te ven y no quedan tus prisioneros. Vete, cuidado, tú que miras, ¿cuidado! Yo nada sé”. (AQ:nº50), or:

Anonymous (Ġāzī 1979:II:633):

lis naqdár narák alyáwm;
mur, +arjá^c liġáyr alyáwm/.

“No puedo verte hoy; vete, vuelve otro día”. (AQ:nº104)

e The lover laments the separation

In the following *xarja* (Anonymous, *Udda* nº13) the first person mentions the separation:

ḥabíb qálbi sáfar ila fás...

“El amado de mi corazón se fue a Fez”. (Ad:11)⁴¹

The first person states that absence is difficult:

Ibn al-Xaṭīb (ʿInānī 1988: nº36):

...+lfiráq ma+ ṣ^cabú

“....¿qué dura es esta ausencia!”. (Ad:12)

40 See also the *muʿāraḍa* of this *xarja* by Y^cḥūdā ha-Lēbī (Stern 1974:118 nº22).

41 Cf. *Udda* nº130 in which the lover tells that he/she will follow the track of the beloved who is travelling.

If the beloved abandoned the lover, we find often expressions of anger and the first person of the *xarja* often deplores such an act, while calling the beloved all sort of names:

Al-Abyaḍ (Ġāzī 1979:I:399):

qad ḡadár ḡabībi+ wxallāni; /līs nuṭī^c xalīl/
ya xalīli, áyn al'aymāni? /alwafá qalīl/.

“Fue traidor mi amado y me dejó; no obedeceré a amigo. Amigo mío, ¿dónde están los juramentos? La lealtad es escasa”. (AQ:nº87)

In another *xarja*, the first person says that the separation was not his/her fault:

Ibn Yannaq (Ġāzī 1979:I:492):

hajár ḡabībi/ wazádni hámma, [ya] mámma,
áš kan ḡunúbi?/ falís li min hájru íṭma/.

“Me abandonó mi amado, aumentando mi cuita, madre: ¿cuáles fueron mis faltas? Pues no tuve culpa de su abandono”. (AQ:nº92)

In the following *xarja*, the first person tells directly that the abandonment was caused by the beloved, and not by him/herself:

Ibn Lubbūn (Ġāzī 1979:I:143):

wáyḡi, jafáni/ malíḡ asmár alajfáni;
áḡdu baráni/ biwášlihi waxalláni/.

“Ay de mí! Me maltrató un hermoso de párpados morenos; su promesa de unión me agotó, pero él me dejó”, (AQ:nº116), and in a *xarja* of Al-Manīšī (Ġāzī 1979:I:333), the lover asks at whom the guilt can be directed.

f The hour of separation is in many *xarja*-s the early morning. In a *xarja* by Ibn Baqī (Ġāzī 1979:I:459), the beloved has left at dawn:

sáfar ḡabībi/ saḡár wama waddá^ctu;
ya wáḡši qálbi/ falláyl idá+ ftakártu!/
“Partió mi amado al alba, y no me despedí de él: ¿qué nostalgia la de mi corazón, de noche, cuando lo recuerdo!” (AQ:nº10); and in a *xarja* by Ibn al °Arabī (Ġāzī 1979:II:286), the first person complains that the beloved has left for Christian territories at daybreak (AQ:nº101).

IV. *Physical descriptions and characteristic metaphors of the beloved*

a The beloved is dark (masc. *asmar*, fem. *sámra*): (AQ:nºs 30; 37; 58; “*Udda* nº268). Also the diminutive *usáymar* is used (63) and in one *xarja*, the dark eyelids are praised (*malíḡ asmár alajfáni*). In another *xarja* by Ibn Ḥazmūn (“*Udda* nº133), the beloved is almost dark (*yamílu ila+ ssúmra*). According to Monroe, the predominance of

the dark is remarkable and can be explained from the context of the Andalusians. In the literary tradition of the Umayyads, fair-haired women and blondness were preferred (Monroe 1977:125). In an anonymous *xarja* (^c*Udda* n°252), the lover says that the one who is in love with brown-skinned, must have patience, or must think it over:

/man yá^cšaq+ assúmri la bú^d yasbár
aw yá^cmal+ annássu ráyan tání/

“Quien ame morenos ha de tener paciencia, o hacerse él mismo otra idea”.
(Ad:41-2)

However, a white skin of the beloved is also appreciated, as the following *xarja* demonstrates:

Ibn Quzmān (115/8/4):

báyḍa, naqíyya [wátta] wafíyya

“You are white, clean and loyal”.

b The beloved is a little King (*ajillíd*) (32) in a *xarja* of Ibn Lubbūn (Ġāzī 1979:I:158).

c The beloved is the ‘desire’, ‘longing’, or ‘urge’: *almuna*, *al iqtiráh* (20) in a *xarja* of Ibn Zuh^r (Ġāzī 1979:II:80) and in an anonymous *xarja* (113) (Ġāzī 1979:II:652).

d The first person sings that he/she is a patient, or that he/she is ill and is suffering from love, or even dying from love.

Al-A^cmā (Ġāzī 1979:I:290; ^cAbbās 1963:n°190):

ya rábbi ma+ sbárni!/ nará ḥabīb qálbi/ waná^cšaqu;

“¡Dios mío, qué paciente soy! Veo al amado de mi corazón y lo amo”
(AQ:n°67), or:

Ibn Šaraf (Ġāzī 1979II:20):

hákaḍa, ya úmmi, nášqa/ walḥabīb sákin juwári;
in numút, ya qáwmi, ^cššqa/ faxuḍu úmmi biṭári/.

“Así, madre, sufro, viviendo el amado a mi lado; si muero, oh gentes, de pasión, pedid cuentas a mi madre” (AQ:n°56), or:

Al-Manīšī (Ġāzī 1979:I:345):

ya xáli,/ qubáyla, iḍa múttu, taḥyíni/ falḥáli/.

“Tío, un beso, si muero, me resucitaría al punto”, (AQ:n°84) or:

Al-Abyaḍ (Ġāzī 1979:I:384):

“...watumút at fī šáni. ...tú mueres por mi causa”. (AQ:nº118)

e A lover is described as being ‘poor’ (*al^cáṣiq+ almiskín*) (AQ:nº96) in a *xarja* of al-Manīšī. (Ġāzī 1979:I:328)

f The first person requires that his/her lover must be pretty and intelligent:

Ibn al-Xabbāz (Ġāzī 1979:I:128):

līs na^cšāq aná illá muwāṣil,
bišārṭ+ an yukún malīḥ wa^cāqil.

“No he de amar sino al constante, a condición de que sea hermoso e inteligente”. (AQ:nº74)⁴²

g Other metaphors for the beloved:

The beloved is a ‘full moon’ (*badr* AQ n^{os} 47 and 72), or *qamar attám* (AQ:nº90) and if he wore a veil, he is compared to a cloud covering the full moon (AQ:nº90).

The eyes are arrows (AQ:nº82), or the lover is under the spell of the eyes of the beloved (*saḥḥāra* (AQ:nº53), the cheek is compared to a rose (*tawríd*) (AQ:nº35).

The chess game is also used as a metaphor, where the lover is a *pawn*, and the poet is able to *capture* it if only the protection of the *bishop* (=the chaperon) could be removed:

Abu l-Qāsim al-^cAṭṭār (*Udda* nº33):

maḡlúb ba^cád nármí/ waqad anqamár qálbi wáraytu ma ráyt
../buwáyḍaqan šádri/ awqáfni fassúfra/ šahmát bila báyt/

“Vencido ya, tiro (el rey), derrotado mi corazón y viendo lo que he visto: Un peoncillo avanzado me dio en el tablero jaquemate sin más casilla”.⁴³ (Ad:14)

The lover is a possessor of gazelles (*mawl alḡizlán*) (*Udda* nº64), with its variant *qáyid alḡizlán* (“commander of the gazelles”) (*Udda* nº268).

Love making is also compared to hunting scenes, where the lover is the hunter:

Anonymous (*Udda* nº84):

⁴² Cf. Ibn Quzmān (6/0; 117/6/1-2).

⁴³ Jones states that this *muwašṣaḥa* possibly dates from the tenth century. For more details see Jones (1993). In other poems, such as the *muwašṣaḥa* by Ibn Xaldūn (*Udda* 135) and the anonymous (*Udda* 184) we find other examples of the chess game as a metaphor for love.

/ṣayyád ya ṣayyád/ bí^c alḥamám min alkirám
tusqá+ lmudám/ tarbaḥ ma taṣṭád/

“Cazador, cazador, vende las palomas a los nobles: te darán vino y ganarás con tu caza”. (Ad:18-19)

h Indumentaria

In an anonymous *xarja* the lover wore a *ḡabán marqúm* (a coat with embroidery) when he returned from Christian territories (102). In a *xarja* by Al-Xabbāz a young man whose beloved is absent, appears wearing holiday clothes, and fine scents during the ^c*Id* festival (Monroe 1977:n°37). The collar (^c*iqd*) is mentioned in three *xarja*-s (26; 28 and Monroe 1977:n°41 which is *Jayš* n°66). Adornments are also mentioned, such as earrings (*šunūf*) and hairclips (*qaṭāṭ*) (^c*Udda* n°139).

V. ‘Psychological’ descriptions of the lover

a The first person expresses complete submission to his/her lover:

Ibn Lubbūn (Ġāzī 1979:I:158):

fa^cmál ma tiríd,/ fa’ánta falmiláḥ ajillíd/.⁴⁴

“Haz lo que quieras, pues eres reyezuelo entre los hermosos” (AQ:n°32), or:

Ibn al-Šabbāḡ (Ġāzī 1979:II:404):

faṭámma naxlá^c ṭiyába ṭúhri
wanáwfi rūḥi liman nirídu/.

“Allí me quitaré mis vestidos de pureza y me entregaré a quien quiero” (AQ:n°36), or:

Al-Jazzār (Ġāzī 1979:I:102):

ama tijí, ya ṣabíyyi, ^cíndi?/ ḡalyáwma taftár,
nawfík jamáli wanahdíḥ náhdi,/ wala niqaṣṣár/.

“No vienes, niño mío, conmigo? Hoy desayunarás, te entregaré mi hermosura, te regalaré mi pecho, y no escatimaré”, (AQ:n°38), or:

Al-Abyaḍ (Ġāzī 1979:I:396):

/láylatan tijíni/ wa’aná bitaḥyíni,
náhdik+ annawáṣi/ waḍḍafíra min rási/.

“La noche que me vengas en mi momento oportuno te daré de mi cabeza las moñas y la trenza”. (AQ:n°60) The meaning is, according to Corriente

44 For the existence of the velar voiced plosive (transcribed here as ‘j’ in for instance ‘ajillíd’) in Hispano-Arabic, see Corriente (1978) and (1980:18:n.22).

(1987:226): “I shall submit myself completely” (“Te me entregaré totalmente”).

- b We see also the opposite. The first person says that he/she rules the roost, and that the beloved must obey him/her:

Ibn Zuhr (Ġāzī 1979:II:102):

lís nartađí lu siwá/ wáşfi wataşbíhi:
yiríd nukún lu şadıq,/ yasbár ʿala tíhi/.

“No le aceptaré sino lo que yo prescriba y me acomode: si quiere que sea su amigo, sufra mis desplantes”. (AQ:nº133)

In another *xarja* by the poetess Nazhūn (Ġāzī 1979:I:552), where the first person is not quite sure whether the beloved likes her or not:

yatamannáni, fa’iđ lam yaráni,/ yatamannáni,
fa’iđa rání tawallá múʿriđa,/ kánnu ma rání/.

“Me desea, pues, cuando no me ha visto me desea, y cuando me ve, se vuelve apartándose, como si no me hubiera visto”. (AQ:nº120)

- c The lover ‘knows nothing’, or asks what to do, or what will happen:

Ibn Xātima (Ġāzī 1979:II:437):

múr, ayyák,/ ya názir, +ayyák,/ aní+ş nádri/.

“Vete, cuidado, tú que miras, ¡cuidado! Yo nada sé”. (AQ:nº50) We saw already this phrase in the *xarja* nº78: *wala nadrí limáđa*, and we find similar words in a *xarja* of Ibn Zuhr (Ġāzī 1979:II:98): *lis bállah nadrí* (‘pardiez, no sé’) (AQ:nº111), or:

Al-Manīşī (Ġāzī 1979:I:322):⁴⁵

...wáš naʿmállu, ya rábbi?

“¿qué haré con él, Señor” (AQ:nº4), or:

Anonymous (‘*Udda* nº13):

...wáš naʿmál yá ’abí

“¿qué haré, padre mío?” (Ad:11), or:

Ibn ʿIsā (Ġāzī 1979:II:160):

...wáš kiyyukún mínna.

“...¿qué sería de nosotros?”. (AQ:nº105)

45 In the *Jayş*-collection (nº79), the same *xarja* is attributed to Ibn Šaraf (Monroe 1977:nº40).

d The beloved is aggressive and is able to hurt the lover:

Ibn Ġurla (Ġāzī 1979:I:554):

qārri, qārri waḥdā,/ la tukún muta^cāddi:
táksir+ annubála/ watifárraṭ+ al^cíqdi/.

“Para, para, y estate quieto, no seas agresivo, que rompes el aderezo y me desgranás el collar” (AQ:n^o26), or:

Al-Kumayt (Ġāzī 1979:I:64):

ḡúbtu, walláhi, asá naṭlīq ṣiyāḥ;/ qad kasár náhdi
wa^camállī fi ṣufayfāti jirāḥ/ wanaṭār ^cíqdi/.

“Pardiez, me deshice de pesar lanzando gritos: me había roto el pecho, hecho heridas en los labios, y desbaratado mi collar” (AQ:n^o28), or:

Ibn Lubbūn (Ġāzī 1979:I:143):

wáyḥí, jafáni/ malīḥ asmár alajfáni...,

“;Ay de mí! Me maltrató un hermoso de párpados morenos...”. (AQ:n^o116)

Anonymous (^cUdda 63):

^cabdállah wájdi/ ^cabdállah yajní ḡa+ lḡirāḥ...

“^cAbd Allāh es mi pasión, A. es quien me hace estas heridas...”. (Ad:16-17)

The beloved is so aggressive that he bruises the breasts and dishevels the hair and bites the lips in order to torture the lover:

Anonymous (^cUdda n^o174):

mahḡúbi kasár nahdáyya/ waxabbál daláli
wayalzám fi ṣuffatáyya/ ^cámda linakáli/.

“Mi amado me ha roto los pechos y desgredado la cabellera, mordiéndome los labios adrede por afligirme”. (Ad:36)

The lover hopes to find a lover who is not violent:

Anonymous (^cUdda n^o350):

aftáš malīḥ kaḡá biḡáli/ wala yikún muḡaššáš⁴⁶

“Busca uno hermoso así como yo y que no sea feroz”. (Ad:26)

The lover asks the beloved not to be so aggressive, so that he will not tear his lover's trousers (*zaragüelles*):

46 Corriente says that this reading is tentative (1993-94:26:n.34).

Anonymous ('*Udda* n°173):

máhla °alík ya taqíl/ taqtá° sarawíli

"Despacio, antipático, que me rompes los zaraguelles". (Ad:37)

The lover is arrogant:

Anonymous ('*Udda* n°14):

ya állah ya állah/ šár alḥabīb tayyáh/ wáš ná°mal+ a rábbi/

"Dios mío, el amado se ha vuelto engreído: ¿qué haré, Señor?". (Ad:12)

e Metaphors of the heart

The heart is made of iron (AQ:n°31), the lover sees, the lover of his heart (AQ:n°67), or "the hearts of humanity are the prisoners of the beloved" (AQ:n°73).

f The first person says that the beloved is his/her 'oppressor'; 'tyrant' (*ḡalimi*) (AQ:n°20), or a sultan with daring eyes (AQ:n°113).

VI. *Obscene texts*

Ibn Sanā'al-Mulk tells us that the poet also can use obscene themes, when he called the *xarja* 'Hajjājīan with regard to *suxf* ('foolish')', referring to an author who became notorious because of his *mujūn* ('frivolous'; 'obscene') poetry. One example is the following *xarja* of a *muwaššaha*, possibly by Ibn al-Labbāna, where we see the description of an erotic posture in a context of adulterous love:

ḥubayyibī á°zim/ wá-qum wá-hjum/ wá-qabbíl fam/ wá-jī wá-ndam
ílā šádrī/ wá-qum bí-xalxáli⁴⁷/ ílā aqrátī/ qád íštáḡal záwjī

"My little lover, be resolute/ Rise and embrace me/ Kiss my mouth/ Come and squeeze/ My breast/ And raise my anklets/ Up to my earrings/ My husband is busy/" (Monroe 1977:n°44; Stern 1974:38).

In the following *xarja*, the words are put into the mouth of the devil:

Al-Dabbāḡ (*Al-Muḡrib* 1/440-1):

xáraj+ arrúḡ °ala din+ arríbbi
wabu múrra yīšīh aya ḥízbi
fi jahánnam tarkáb °ala [zúbbi]
ma° abánt+ alqallá waḡik al°ayyār/

"El alma le salió en fe judía, gritando el diablo: 'Gentes mías, cabalgue en

47 Corriente *xalī* [sic], i.e. with a long *ī*, whereas he does not use this sign in his transcription-system

el infierno mi pene, junto a la hija del freidor y aquel ruin'." (Corriente 1994:96-97)

VII. *Pederastic love*

In a *xarja* by Ibn Baqī (Ġāzī 1979:I:434), we see the theme of the adolescent, who loses his attraction when he becomes an adult.

našúqq+ assimát/ wáḥdi,/ wanará ḥabīb qálbi/ yábni/.

"Cruzo la calle solo y veo al amado de mi corazón trabajando de albañil".⁴⁸ (AQ:107)

VIII. *Bacchic themes*

a Drinking moderately

Drinking wine is frequently combined with making love. Sometimes this takes place openly, sometimes secretly. In a *maṭla'* of *zajal* n° 45 by Ibn Quzmān, we see the following characteristic exclamation:

šuráybatan raqíqa wama 'šúq!
'iyyák taqúl ḥadíṭak límáxlúq

"A little fine wine and a lover, don't tell it to anybody"! (Corriente 1980: 311).

b Drinking excessively; «getting sloshed».

The use of the diminutive *šuráybatan* in the former example implies that not total drunkenness is involved. However, we find frequently the theme of total drunkenness, as the following example demonstrates:

Ibn Zuhī ('*Udda* n°332):

xállini niṭīb wayimíl rási/ 'ala kási/

"Déjame achisparme y que se me caiga la cabeza sobre el vaso". (Ad:25)

c The *nunc est bibendum*-theme. The poet quotes the words in the *xarja* of someone who asks how he can find the way to the barkeeper:

Al-Sabbāḡ (Ġāzī 1979:II:416):

man yawrīni dár al'atṭār/ biḡurá+ lmanára?.

"¿Quién me enseña la casa del tabernero en las colinas del alminar?".⁴⁹ (AQ:n°54)

48 Corriente (1987 240 and 1988 97, 259) added the interesting parallel in a *xarja* by al-Šuštārī (57/7/4-5) ("Por qué, soberano de beldad, riges injustamente? Mañana te saldrá bozo, y te veremos hilar")

49 We see the same text in the *zajal* n°34 by al-Šuštārī, where drinking wine takes place in the Christian district of the town (Corriente 1988 70).

- d The stock-themes of *xamriyyāt* are also reflected in the *xarja*-s. in a *xarja* of a *muwaššaha* of Ibn al-Qazzāz (Ġāzī 1979:I:168), pouring wine for the eyes of the beloved is described and the words are addressed to a little gazelle:

balḥurma, ya rašá, man saqá+ rráh/ ‘aynýk almiláh?

“Por lo más sagrado, gacelilla, ¿quién escanció vino a tus bellos ojos?”.⁵⁰ (AQ:nº13)

In a *xarja* of Abū Ḥayyān the glazier (*zajjāj*) is asked for one bottle and two cups (AQ:nº19), and in one *xarja* by ‘Ubāda al-Mālaqī the lover hopes that all the others will be drunk and that he will be able to resist the wine:

/aya sáqi/ axxár ‘ánni akwási
‘asá nabqá/ wayaskáru jullási/

“Coperó, espáciame las copas, a ver si resisto y se embriagan mis compañeros”. (Ad:24-5)

- e We have seen already the theme of a girl who asks ‘to enter with her, as wine enters in the cup’ (wa-dxul má‘ī ilfī/ mītla š-šaráb fi l-kás) (Monroe 1977:nº43; *Dār* nº16).

IX. *Musical instruments and references to the musical context*

I did not find a reference to the so-called *urgūn*, which Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk talks about.⁵¹ The only musical instruments mentioned in the *xarja*-s are the lute and the flute of the *būq* (‘albogue’):

Ibn Baqiyy (Ġāzī 1979:I:471):

ya ‘ud azzán (‘Laúd de encina’).⁵² (AQ:nº106), and:

Ibn Quzmān (Corriente 1980: 45/13/4):

azzulámi min albúq

Only in one *xarja* dancing is mentioned:

Ibn Quzmān (Corriente 1980: 67/15/3-4):

labbasúni alǧalála/ wáftalu larráqši kúmmi,
‘áyya, gánnu, yarquš aššayx:/ háda hu wáqtan yuraqqás

“Vestidme la túnica, subidme las mangas para bailar; ea, cantad, baile el maestro, que es tiempo de hacer que baile” (Corriente 1989:142).

50 Compare the wine-songs ‘*Udda* nº294, where the gazelle shakes her hair, while cups are being poured (alǧazál házz alwabár/ walku’úsu tútra‘u).

51 The meaning of the word *urgūn* is explained by López-Morillas (1985).

52 Cf. IQ/4/7/5 *yá ‘ūd azzán/ qum ā‘idni* (Corriente 1980:27) (“Oh lute [made of] oak-wood, come and help me!”) and see also *Dār* nº31 (Fish 1976:41).

X. *Religious themes*

The Lord is omnipresent and the lover frequently asks his help. Many *xarja*-s show invocations to the Lord or the prophet:

The Lord: *ya rabbí* [passim]

The Prophet: (*bannabí*) Ibn Zuhri (*Udda* n°16), or *wannabí* (*Udda* n°77).

Ibn Baqiyy uses the *hajj* as a metaphor for his pilgrimage in search of a Berber gazelle (*Udda* n°139).

The *Qur'ān* is mentioned in a *xarja*. We read the following text:

Anonymous (*Udda* n°286):

juzítu bifáhmi ḥanífí wajírmi wašáfí'i
waaláytu alla aqrá+ lkitáb illa birádi'i/

"He recibido comprensión *ḥanafi*, corporal (?) y *šafi'i*, y juro no leer el Corán sino con censor". (Ad:29).

In one *xarja* we find the expression of how God loves the lover:

Ibn Al-Sabbāg (*Īnānī* 1988: n°74):

wáš yihfbak+ alláh/ ya ḥabíbi yá+ bni/

"¡Cuánto te quiere Dios, mi amado, hijo mío!". (Ad:40)

The Muslims are asked for advice in a line of a *xarja* we quoted earlier:

Anonymous (*Udda* n°217):

áš na^cmal a muslimín

In a *xarja* of the poet al-Abyaḍ, the lover says that he/she only kissed a member of the Muslim community (*innama qabbáltu 'uḍwa/ min amír almuslimína* (*Udda* n°227).

XI. *Hedonism; the topos of carpe diem:*

Love songs can be either sad, especially when the beloved departs or does harm to the lover, or reflect the idea of *carpe diem*. Almost all wine-songs can be considered to be hedonistic, but this theme is not only found in wine-songs, as the following example demonstrates:

Anonymous (*Udda* n°323):

ṭáb 'áyši alláh yudímu wa^casá
aná wayaḥyá fi wišál šabāḥ wamasá/

"Qué buena es mi vida, Dios la haga durar, y estemos Yahyā y yo unidos mañana y tarde". (Ad:24)

XII. Festivals

The following celebrations are recorded:

New Year:

Anonymous (*‘Udda* n°138):

ya ḥábbada+ Imahraján...

“Qué hermoso Año Nuevo...!”. (Ad:28)

A feast day (*‘īd*) in January:

Ibn Quzmān (40/9/4):

waḥásbak yannáyr waná^cmal mínnu ^cíd.

“bástate enero, que fiesta haré de él”. (Corriente 1989:106).

8.3.2 The elements of the Arabic *xarja*-s from Hebrew *muwaššahāt*

In the Hebrew poems, if a poet decides to use a colloquial ending, he can insert colloquial Arabic or Romance or a mixture of both languages. The only Hebrew word which is found in the *xarja*-s is *ahūvī*, the translation of *ḥabībī* (‘my lover’) (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:n°42),⁵³ and therefore we can say that Hebrew normally does not interfere with Arabic or Romance in the *xarja*-s; trilingual *xarja*-s are almost non-existent.⁵⁴ However, a Hebrew poet can use a Hebrew *xarja*, in most cases a quotation of Sacred texts. In many religious *muwaššahāt* the final unit has been omitted completely, since colloquial speech does not fit this register of Hebrew. As I already observed, the Hebrew poets imitated their Arabic models and the majority of Arabic *xarja*-s appended to Hebrew *muwaššahāt*, share the same themes and *topoi* as the Arabic *xarja*-s from Arabic *muwaššahāt*. Most have erotic or panegyric themes and many share the *topoi* which originate from Oriental *ḡazal*-poetry. Nevertheless, there are some differences which I shall describe below. Firstly, we shall describe parallels between the two *corpora*.

I. *Central figures. The dramatis personae*

- a The enemies of love. The lover is very much concerned about the social approval or disapproval of his/her love-affair. In other *xarja*-s, the lover sings (or the poet lets someone sing) that he/she is not interested in what people might say of a possibly secret love-affair. The censorer (Sp. censor; Ar. *‘ādīl*) is also a central figure who is

53 All references to this article will be abbreviated MS and references to ‘Apostillas a las *xarjāt*. .’ by Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos (forthcoming) will be abbreviated as CS.

54 For the only trilingual *xarja* see Larrea Palacín (1985)

frequently mentioned in the Monroe and Swiatlo collection. The censorer is invoked in a *xarja* by ʿTodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh (*yā-ʿāḫīlī*; O my censorer) (MS:n°82). In the following *xarja*, two censorers are mentioned:

ʿTodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh (MS:n°29):⁵⁵

yā ʿaḫīlayyā aḫīrā aw aḫīlā
qād abā l-ḥubbū an yuḫīʿa ʿaḫīlā.

“O my two censorers, restrain or let loose (your tongues, as you wish);/ love refuses to obey any censorer”.⁵⁶

Other examples where public opinion is concerned:

Mošeh ha-Kōhēn b. Jiqatella (MS:n°19):

...wadāʿ kalām annās ma ḏārrani/

“...deja que la gente hable, no me daña”. (CS)

In a *xarja* of a *muzannam*, we see the same apprehension for public gossip:

Anonymous (MS:n°85):

...wāš yiqūlu+ nnāsu fīna...

“...¿qué dice de nosotros la gente?...?”. (CS)⁵⁷

- b The lover, who addresses him/herself to the beloved or a third person in the first-person, using the vocative *yā*. In alphabetical order, we found the following variations in the repertoire. (We indicate with an asterix (*) those persons which have not been recorded in the preceding *corpus* of Arabic *xarja*-s from Arabic *muwaššahāt*).

**yā ʿāḫīlī* (‘my censorer’) (82);⁵⁸ **yā ʿaḫīlayyā* (‘my two censorers’) (29); *yā ʿammī* (‘dear [lit. uncle]’) (35); *āyyuhā s-sāqī* (‘cupbearer’) (25); *yā axī* (‘brother’) (31); *yā ḥabībī* (‘lover’) (52 and 84); **yā ḥādī arrakāyib* (‘leader of the caravan’) (57); *yā ḥamām yā xallaq ya ḥaninī* (‘pigeon, flatterer, my desire’) (68); **yā ḥubbī l-bārīdī* (‘my cold love’) (78); **yā kawkab al-iqbāl* (‘star of good fortune’) (69); **yā xillī* (‘my beloved’) (50); *yā miskīn* (‘You wretch’) (28); **yā māwatī* (‘my lady’) (48); **yā nūra ʿaynī* (‘light of my

55 In the transcription used by Monroe and Swiatlo we find both long vowels ā, ī and ū and accentuated vowels á, í, ú. I did not emend these signs, just as in the quotations from Monroe (1977). I was not able to reproduce the vowels with both signs (long and accentuated).

56 Not in Corriente & Sáenz (forthcoming), cf. another *xarja*, also by ʿTodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh, where the poet addresses a *xarja* to his critic (Monroe & Swiatlo n°82).

57 Cf. the *xarja* of Monroe & Swiatlo (1977.n°66).

58 All numbers refer to Monroe & Swiatlo (1977).

eyes'); *yā qawm(u)* ('people') (30, 44 and 91); **yā qawmī aswadī* ('my people, woe for my melancholy') (73a/b); **yā qud(r)at al-'ilmi wa-l-jalāl wa-š-šarafi* ('learned ones, great and honorable men') (65); **yā rabbi* ('Lord') (80); **yā rasūl* ('messenger') (66); *yā šāhib *al-xālī* ('possessor of the cheek-mole') (41); **yā šuġáyyar, yā bnī* ('little one, my son') (3); **yā ṭālib al-ma'ālī* ('pursuer of lofty goals') (59); **yā ṭayyib al-xabari* ('bringer of good news') (18); *yā ḡabī* ('fawn') (60).

- c In *tawšīḥ* poetry, the panegyric is a very common subcategory. Normally, the physical beauty and psychological features, such as courage (58,74) or wisdom (65), are praised in such encomiastic poems. Sometimes, the lover, or the poet himself, who sings the *xarja* mentions the name of the praised or the beloved:

yā Turáyyā ('Oh, Zoraya') (8); *yā Abū[l]Ḥasán* ('Oh Abū Ḥasan') (37);⁵⁹ *yā qud(r)at al-'ilmi/ wa-l-jalāl wa-š-šarafi/ hal bi-kumū Mūsā* ('O learned ones, great and honorable men, is not Moše among you?'); *nisallám/ 'alā abū ya'qūb/ ábn almu'allám* ('that I may salute Abū Ya'qūb b. al-Mu'allám') (69); In one *xarja*, the name is omitted and the beloved is called 'so-and-so' (*al-fulānī* = 'Fulano').

- d The neighbour

In three *xarja*-s the neighbour has a specific function:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫṣiyāh (MS:n°50):

/qúm xílli lalbustán/ waḥráz jummári... la fíhi jári/

"Vamos, amado, al jardín y disfruta mi palmito, que no está mi vecino". (CS) As Monroe and Swiatlo observed (1977:150) the neighbour sometimes can mean 'husband', as in Spanish popular poetry. Other *xarja*-s where the neighbour is mentioned are n°s 80 and 91. In n°80 the lover is complaining that the beloved one has been concealed. The lover wishes to ask his neighbour about him. In *xarja* n°91 the lover is in love with the neighbour himself.

- e The messenger (*rasūl*) is also an important figure, just as in the Arabic series. This figure is asked to bring news (66). As we saw earlier, the good news of the existing love between two lovers can be made public by the messenger or by others.

59 In this *xarja* the strong character of the panegyricized is praised, and not his physical features ("Oh Abū Ḥasan, / if you do not lead, who will?")

II. *Toponyms, names of people, nature and city-life*

a Names of people

Most *xarja*-s from the Hebrew *corpus* fit very well within the Arabic tradition. Only sporadically the Jewish people are mentioned, as in the following example:

Anonymous (MS:n°1):

qad hawáyt ahyáf ʿibráni/

“He amado una esbelta (gacela) hebrea”. (CS)

Christians are mentioned in the following *xarja*:

Yōsēp̄ b. al-Šami (MS:n°67):

la búdd+ arúd [sic] yáddi/ ʿala rási
asúq banát arrúm/ bannawáši/

“Tengo que meter mano a mi cabeza y traer a las cristianas por los cabellos”. (CS). According to Sáenz-Badillos and Corriente, the poet alludes in this *xarja* to the ‘conquest’ of a woman after combing the hair.

The Maghribian shore is mentioned in a *xarja* of Y^chūdāh ha-Lēbī:

“Kiss me! for verily, in the morrow I am leaving for the [African] shore” (*xārijun ila-l-ʿudwah*).⁶⁰

b Toponyms. Urban context and ethnic-religious groups

The only country which is mentioned is Syria *aš-Šām* in *xarja* 57. The Arabs are mentioned in a *xarja* of a *muwaššaha* by Ibn Ġīʾaṭ and this *xarja* is also the *maṭlaʿ* of a *muwaššaha* of Ibn Bājja (Stern 1958:360-1), where the words *wa-ʿarabī* is missing:

Ibn Ġīʾaṭ (MS:n°21):

wa-ʿarabī
jarriri d-ḡáyla áyyumā járri
wá-šil is-súkra min-hu bi-súkrī.

“By an Arab,/Drag your robes wherever you please,/ and add your drunkenness to his”.⁶¹ In another *xarja* (MS:n°88) of ʿTodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh, the poet puts the words of the *xarja* in the mouth of the daughter of Arabia. In the *corpus* of Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s from the Arabic series, not many toponyms have been recorded. In the Arabic *xarja*-s from the Hebrew series, no cities are mentioned at all.

60 See Almbadth (1992-93:20).

61 Not in CS.

The urban context is reflected in the following *xarja*-s, where reference is made to the street: !62 □

Lāṭimī (MS:n°20):

yá+ mma nimúr ní^cm+ alḥabíb NENO
min azzuqáq ašár li bi^cáynu/.

“Mamá, me voy, ¿qué buen mozo es el amado!. Desde la calle me guiñó el ojo”. (CS)

Probably, the vintner’s house also belonged to the urban environment, but it could also be situated in the country-side.

Ibn Gabbīrōl (MS: n°38):

sikrán ya ^cayyár/ wáyn aṭṭaríq lidár alxammár/.

“Borracho estás, pillo, ¿dónde está el camino a casa del tabernero?”. (CS)

c (City)Gardens, nature, flora and fauna

Descriptions of nature were already very frequent in pre-Islamic literature. In some *xarja*-s we see that such themes were never abandoned totally, as for example in the following *xarja* where the *aṭlāl*-theme is inserted:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAṭṭiyyāh (MS:n°66):

qif bī-tilká ṭ-ṭulūl
wa-bkí-hā yā rasūl
wá-sal íd-dāra ^can-húm
wa-stámi^c mā taqūl.

“Halt at those ruins,/ and weep over them, messenger,/ and question the abode about (my loved ones),/ and listen to what people reply”. !63 □

We have already seen the *xarja* of Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAṭṭiyyāh (MS:n°50), where the poet’s soul addresses the beloved and invites him to come to the garden:

qúm xíll lalbustán/ waḥráz jummári ...la fíhi jári/.

“Vamos, amado, al jardín y disfruta mi palmito, que no está mi vecino”. (CS)

Probably, the garden has a symbolic function, as the garden of love, whose

62 Of course, streets are also found in small villages in the the country-side. I relate these texts to the urban environment, because most poets lived there and references to nature are not frequently used, except those which are a direct imitation from classical Arabic stock imagery.

63 Not in CS Other pre-Islamic themes are the caravan leader carrying a message to the beloved (MS n°57) and the lady departing on her camel-saddle (MS n°92).

fruits the lovers enjoy.⁶⁴

The garden is not only a place for making love, but also a drinking place. Themes of the *rawdīyyāt* (garden-songs) and the *xamriyyāt* (wine-songs) can be combined:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh (MS:n°89):

šúhbu + rru'úsi + zzahár/ šaríbtuha ^cala zahár/ kaššúhbi/
fī ráwḏatin bilqádar/ fíha kamas^cúdi + lqadár/ liššúrbi/

“[copas] de blanca y brillante (?) superficie he bebido sobre flores como luceros, en un jardín por azar (?), donde estaba como afortunado para beber”. (CS).

The wind carries a love-song to the lover in an anonymous *xarja* (MS:n°61), and hunting scenes are also frequently used, where the victim is a fawn (*zabī*; MS:n°60); a *rašá* (MS:n°24), or a gazelle which has ‘strayed into the garden’ (of lovers):

Aḫrāhām b. ^cEzrā (MS:n°28):

/táhat ġazála fī ráwḏ [muḥibbín]
aḥḏár tišidā tanšáb yā miskín/.

“Se ha perdido una gacela en jardín de amantes:/ cuidado con cazarla, no te enredas, pobre”. (CS)

Another animal from the hunting context is the ‘lion of the desert’ (*layṭ al-bāḏiyah* 58). In a *xarja* by Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh, which is the *maṭla^c* of a poem by Ibn Ġurla, a hunting scene is described (64) and another animal which has been recorded in the *xarja*-s of the Hebrew series is the greyhound.

III. *Union and separation*

a Greeting

As we saw earlier in the Arabic *xarja*-s from the Arabic series, the greeting is also an essential element in meetings and separations between lovers:

Aḫrāhām b. ^cEzrā (MS:n°76):

zúr-nī wa-láw fī l-manāmi
wá-jud wa-láw bi-s-salāmi...

“Visit me, if only in my sleep,/ and be generous, if only by greeting me...”.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ See also MS:n°6.

⁶⁵ Not in CS. Other *xarja*-s where greeting is involved are Monroe & Swiatlo n°s 69 and 88.

- b The lover asks, requests or requires the immediate arrival with his/her lover (48); and from the same poet (MS:n°52):

limatá biwáṣlak tirajjini/ jini ya ḥabibi fajúd jini/ wabít °indi/.

“¿Hasta cuándo me prometerás tu unión? Venme, amado mío, y sé generoso, venme y duerme conmigo”. (CS)

- c The *Ubi sunt*-theme.

In another *xarja* the lover asks why the beloved is so late and wonders if he lost his way:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-°Aḫṣiyāh (MS:n°83):

...kíf wakíf abtá/ láš lam yijí ma°ák yaráni/ aṭṭaríq axṭá/.

“¿cómo, cómo se retrasó? Porque no vino contigo a verme? El camino erró”. (CS), whereas in the following *xarja*, the beloved is travelling:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-°Aḫṣiyāh (MS:n°47):

ḥibbi maḏá lassafár/ lis °índu šák min ámri/ na°šáqu ġáb aw haḏár/.

“Mi amado se fue de viaje sin dudar de mí: lo amo, ausente o presente”. (CS)

- d It is surprising that we find no invocations to the mother or the sister, since in the Arabic series such invocations have been recorded. In Hebrew poems they are only found in Romance or bilingual Romance-Arabic *xarja*-s.

- e The lover complains about the absence of the beloved:

Y°eḥūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I:182-3; MS:n°90):

ḥabibi qad yarḥál/ wa°ádu lam yanzál/ wáy šabri lí
la búd li an [n]aḥmál/ aw áš °asá ya°mál/ man qad bulí/.

“Mi amado ya se marcha, cuando aún no se ha asentado: ¿qué paciencia tendré? Tendré que soportar, o ¿qué puede hacer quien se enamoró?”. (CS)

In other *xarja*-s we find a complaint by someone who says that ‘separation is a hardship’ opposed to ‘embraces that are the joy of every lover’ (MS:n°17 and 81). Separation can be the reality between two lovers in the near future (MS:n°49) and in (MS:n°68) we find the theme of the absence in the past.

- f The union between lovers is announced:

Y°eḥūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I:186-7; MS:n°73):

(l)amma +n aḥraqátni+ lġúrba/ narjá° libiládi...

“Puesto que me escuece ser forastero, vuelvo a mi país...”. (CS)

- g A special metaphor for the union of lovers is the union of the pomegranate and the quince (MS:n°61)⁶⁶

IV. *Physical descriptions of the lovers*

- a The lover is a gazelle with bright eyes and a dark skin:

Y^hhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 197-8; MS:n°63):

man °ašāq yu°dār/ wa°aná °ašāqtu ġazála
āḥwaran asmār/ qad malá+ lafāqa jamála/

“Quien ama es disculpado, y yo he amado una gacela hurí morena que ha llenado horizontes de belleza”. (CS)

- b The beloved does not need adornments, because the intrinsic beauty is sufficient:

Y^hhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody II:324-5; MS:n°77):

xallí °uqúda jidak lámma/ azrát bik+ alḥulí
ánta+ lḥulí waháđi °indi/ júmlat šawađilí/

“Deja los collares de tu cuello, puesto que te perjudican las joyas: tú eres la joya, y ésta es toda mi cuita”. (CS)

- c The person who is in love suffers from love-sickness, he may even be dying, as reflected in *xarja* (MS:n°60). The theme of the beloved who kills the lover is frequently used (MS:n°78).⁶⁷

- d In one *xarja*, dying of love-sickness is described as an excellent death (87). Closely related to the theme of love-sickness, is the comparison of the beloved to a doctor:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-°Aḫīyyāh (MS:n°84):

bállah ya ḥabíbi/ júd wakún ṭabíbi/ balwišáli/ wádri ḥáli/ wáš
tám/

“Pardiez, mi amado, sé generoso, sé mi médico con la unión y sabe mi caso y qué pasa”. (CS)

- e Special metaphors for physical features of the beloved.

66 As Monroe and Swiatlo observe, “the union of the red pomegranate is the modest, blushing lady, and the yellow quince is the pale, languishing lover” (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977 151)

67 This *muwaššaha* has different *xarja*-s. In another version, Y^hhūdāh ha-Lēbī closes the poem with a Romance *xarja* (Solà-Solé 1973 n°XXXVI 235-8).

The lover is like a 'branch of a willow' (MS:n^o46), a 'sea of generosity, and of comely beneficence, and a second sea of courage of terrible waves', or 'sweeter than musk, more fragrant, more redolent' (MS:n^o36), or a full moon (*badr, qamar*) (MS:n^{os} 14, 24, 54 and 79), or a star of good fortune (MS:n^o69), all stock-metaphors from Arabic traditional poetry.

The chess game is also used as a metaphor, where the lover is a *pawn*, and the poet is able to *capture* it if only the protection of the *bishop* (=the censurer) could be removed:

Yiṣḥāq b. ʿEzrā (MS:n^o7):

áy buwáydaq šart+ attah(y)íl,
law tinahhíni ʿáqd+ alfíl/

"¿Qué peoncillo (yo lograra) con sólo ardid, si me quitaras la protección del alfil". (CS)⁶⁸

V. *Psychological descriptions of the lovers*

- a The lover expresses the fact that he/she rules the roost; the beloved plays a passive role.

As we saw earlier in a *xarja* of al-Jazzār (Ġāzī 1979:I:102), the theme of 'offering the breasts' as a sign of active love-play is also employed in the following *xarja*:

Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 135-7; MS:n^o93):

...xálfa l-ḥijāl/ náʿṭih dalāl/ ʿalā n-nikāl/ wá-nazīd náhdī/.

"Behind the curtains/ I'll give him my curls,/ by way of torment,/ and I'll add my breasts".⁶⁹

- b Merely gazing at the beloved should be sufficient:

Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody II: 325-6; MS:n^o79):

tádri alḥáqq+ an kuntimúr ʿánni/ waqtanáʿ bannaẓár
la tiḥámal ʿala+ n tibús fúmmi/ la yubáss+ alqamár/

"Sabes que debieras apartarte de mí: conténtate con mirar;/ no exijas besar mi boca, pues no se besa la luna". (CS)

- c The lover is desperate and asks 'what to do' (¿Qué faré?)
The poet is in a situation where he is not able to decide what to do, saying that he 'does not know how':

68 See also the *xarja* by Abū l-Qāsim al-ʿAṭṭār (Corriente 1993-1994:14).

69 Not in CS.

Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh (MS:n°30):

...kam futtīš ʿalīh walis nádri min+ áš.

“...¿Cuánto se ha buscado, pero no sé de qué!”. (CS)

The poet or the lover asks what to do:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh (MS:n°80):⁷⁰

...wáš naʿmállu ya rábbi. (AQ:n°4)

“...¿Qué haré con él, Señor?”, or:

Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 195-6; MS:n°81):

...faya ráb ma ašnáʿ/.

“Dios mío, ¿qué haré?”. (CS)

d The beloved is aggressive and is able to hurt the lover:

Arrows are used for wounding the lover, as happens in the following *xarja*:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh (MS:n°92):

fa-n-nibāl
tarmuqu-nī.

“The arrows look at me”,⁷¹

In the following *xarja* the poet complains that he has been ‘unjustly oppressed’:

Mošeh b. ʿEzrā (MS:n°55):

man kána mazlúma/ wa-xášmuhu qáđi...

The poet Abū l-Falw al-Balansī uses the same *xarja* (ʿUdda n°88), which Corriente translates as follows:

“Quien sufra injuria, siendo el injuriador juez,...” (Ad 19-20), or by the same poet (MS:n°70):

zalámtani falhúb/ zúlman mubín
báyni wabáynak ráb/ alʿalamín

“Me hiciste en el amor manifiesta injusticia: entre nosotros juzgue el Señor”. (CS)

70 The same *xarja* is found in a *muwaššaha* by al-Manīšī (Corriente 1987:n°4) and not by Ibn Saraf (Monroe 1977:n°40; *Jayš* 79:111).

71 Not in CS.

VI. *Obscene texts*

An erotic posture is also found in the Hebrew corpus, as the following examples demonstrate:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫiyyāh (MS:n°48):

ya mawlati ḥāyya [ḥāyya]
qabbālīni waṇḍāmm+ ilāyya
min tāḥti aw illa fakūn ^calāyya/

“Señora, venga, venga, bésame y abrázame, bajo mí o ponte encima”. (CS)

VII. *Pederastic love*

In one *xarja* from the Hebrew *muwaššahāt*, probably the poet refers to pederastic homosexual love, since he praises a young boy.

Y^chūdāh b. Bal^cām (MS:n°46):

nuḥāyd kama yaḷqāḥ/ ḡṣān min albāni
^cād ilāyya aṣlāni/

“Pechecito, cual crece el ramo de sauce, a mí ha vuelto abrasándome”. (CS).⁷²

VIII. *Homosexual love*

In one *xarja* we see the juxtaposition of heterosexuality versus homosexuality:

Ibn Ṣaddīq (MS:n°34):

ḥājir ad-dalāli
a^cḍābu min wāṣli l-^ciḍāri/

The poet speaks in praise of women and their love, which contrasts favourably with that of boys] (“Avoidance from curly-locked [women], is sweeter than union with cheek-downed [boys]”).⁷³

IX. *Bacchic themes* (xamriyyāt)

One of the most frequent themes of these texts is the wine-theme. Many *xarja*-s are to be regarded as wine-songs and we can distinguish the following categories:

- a The invitation to drink, or the theme of *nunc est bibendum* is found in *xarja* (MS:n°6) by Y^chūdāh ha-Lēbī and another characteristic example is the following *xarja*:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫiyyāh (MS:n°23):

⁷² For homosexual themes in Hebrew poetry see van der Heyde (1984).

⁷³ Not in CS.

ašrúb mudám wasqí man ta^cšaqué
waxálli ḥussádak yatqallaquí/

“Bebe vino y escancia al que enamoras, y deja a los envidiosos inquietarse”.
(CS)

b The theme of excessive drinking or drunkenness is also found:

Anonymous (MS:n°2):

máḥla ṭul annahár nifarrág wanamlíh/

“¿Qué grato, todo el día vacío y lleno (mi copa)!”. (CS), or:

Ibn Gabbīrōl (MS:n°38):

/sikrán ya ^cayyár/ wáyn aṭṭaríq lidár alxammár/

“Borracho estás, pillo, ¿dónde está el camino a casa del tabernero?”.
(CS).⁷⁴

c Descriptions of bacchic scenes:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAṭṭarīyāh (MS:n°43):

^cúdan yusawwá wakásan yumlá
árra kám bismi+ llá/

“Un laúd se templea y un vaso se llena: vengan unos cuantos, en nombre de Dios”. (CS).⁷⁵

X. Musical instruments and references to the musical context

Several musical instruments have been recorded in the Arabic *xarja*-s from Hebrew *muwaššahāt*, such as the lute (MS:n°43) the flute (MS:n°80) and in (MS:n°51) the poet says a maiden sings to her lover, accompanied by her tambourine.

XI. Religious Themes

In many *xarja*-s God plays a prominent part, but we must be aware of the fact that the word *Allāh* is used in many idiomatic expressions, such as *bismi+ llá* (MS:n°43), or *balláh balláh* (MS:n°61). The lover invokes God for the following reasons:

- Asking God to ‘befriend his deeds’ (MS:n°73c);
- God is asked to worry about the departed lover and to guard him, wherever he may be (MS:n°9) and in one *xarja* the lover sings that ‘the Lord of the Worlds is between you and me’ (bayni wabáynak ráb al-*calamín*; MS:n°70).

⁷⁴ Another example by Ibn Ġīʿat (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:n°21).

⁷⁵ Other wine-songs are the *xarja*-s (MS:n°13 and 42). In (MS:n°89) the poet addresses the wine.

XII. *Hedonism; the theme of carpe diem:*

One of the most salient examples of this theme is the following *xarja*:

Abṛāhām b. ʿEzrā (MS:n°59):

ya ṭálib+ aʿlá+ lmaʿáli/ asmáʿ faʿinni lak náṣiḥ
aqṣúd zamán addunáyya/ [ínna] axú+ lfúrja ṣáliḥ/

“Tú que buscas superior excelstitud, oye, pues te aconsejo: procura la vanidad del mundillo, que quien disfruta hace bien”. (CS).

XIII. *Festivals*

No mention of Christian nor Muslim festivals or Holy Days are recorded. In one *xarja* the *sabbath* is mentioned, which reflects the Jewish tradition:

Yiṣḥāq b. ʿEzrā (MS:n°33):

assábtī ʿídi/ min ájli háḡa+ rráys alyahúdi/

“El sábado es mi fiesta, a causa de este notable judío”. (CS).

8.3.3 The elements of the Romance *xarja*-s

I. Central figures. The dramatis personae

a The *raqīb* and the *ḥabīb*

The figure of the spy-watcher as an enemy or obstacle for union in love is frequently recorded in the Romance *xarja*-s. (NPA:n°4) The lover is usually mentioned with the Arabic word *ḥabīb(ī)* (*passim*).

b The mother

The invocation to the mother is found with the following variants:

Arabic: *yámmi* (NPA:n°s, 34; NPH:n°21); Romance:⁷⁶ *mámma* (NPA:n°s 10; 14; 15; 17; 21a/b; 30 a/b; 31, 32, 35; NPH:n°s 11; 14; 22).

c The *filyól alyéno*

The lover is compared to a ‘child of someone else’:

Anonymous (ʿUdda: n°260):⁷⁷

kómo sí...filyólo alyéno/ non más+ a(d)dórmes+ a(d)
mew séno/

“Como si fueses hijito ajeno, no duermes más en mi seno”. (NPA:n°18)

⁷⁶ Probably the word *mamma* is not exclusively Romance; in the Andalusian dialect this word has been also recorded. See Hitchcock (1977b) and Armistead & Monroe (1983).

⁷⁷ Same *xarja* from Y^chūdāḡ ha-Lēbī in the Hebrew series (n°7).

Another example is:

Al-Jazzār and Ibn Baqiyy (*Jayš* Section 11, poem 8; section 1, poem 4):⁷⁸

k+adamáy/ filyól alyéno/ ed éll+ a míbe
kérello/ de míb beṭáre/ sew arraḡibe/

“Porque amé a chiquillo ajeno y él a mí, me lo quiere vedar su vigilante”. (NPA:n°28).

d The sister

The invocation to sisters is recorded in Romance (*yermanéllas*):

Y^ḥhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 163-4):

Ḡarrír bos+ éy yermanéllas/ kí+ m kontenirá(d) mew mále
sin alḡabīb non bibréyo/ ad ób l+iréy demandáre?/

“Yo os diré, hermanitas, quién me contendrá mi mal: sin el amado no viviré, ¿dónde le irá a buscar?”. (NPH:n°4).

e The aunt is mentioned in NPH:n°12 (‘dolédla sa tíya’; ‘la atormenta su tía’).

f Other figures: *saḡḡára* (‘hechicera’) (NPA:n°7); *dibína* (‘the sooth-sayer’)

The following names of individuals are mentioned:

Sídi Abráhim (NPA:n°1), Abulqásim (NPA:n°17), Abulḡajjáj (NPA:n°19), Badrélló (NPA:n°39); the son of Ibn Addayén [al-Ḥassān b. al-Daiyān] (NPH:n°1), Ishāq (NPH:n°2), Ibn Muhájir [Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. Muhájir] (NPH:n°13).

Although their names are not mentioned, the person to whom the panegyric is dedicated is known in the following poems: (NPH:n°3) is dedicated to Yōsēp b. Ferusiel, known as ‘Cidello’; (NPH:n°4) is a panegyric to Ishāq b. Qrispīn; (NPH:n°5) is addressed to Abū Hārūn Mošeh b. ^ḥEzrā; (NPH:n°6) to Abū Ishāq Naḡman b. Azhār, (NPH:n°9) is addressed to a friend of Y^ḥhūdāh ha-Lēbī, with the name Aḡbrāhām; (NPH:n°12) has been written by Mošeh b. ^ḥEzrā dedicated to Y^ḥhūdāh ha-Lēbī; (NPH:n°16) is addressed to Don Isaac b. Sadoq, member of King Alfonso X the Wise’s council (Don Zag de la Maleha); (NPH:n°17) is dedicated to Ṭodrōs Abū l-^ḥAḡiyyāh, n°18 to Abū Ibrāhīm Š^ḥmū’ēl and his brother Yiṣḡāq (Stern 1974:127-151).

78 The same *xarja* is also found in a *muwaššaha* of Mošeh b. ^ḥEzrā. See Garbell (1953).

II. *Toponyms, names of people, country and city life*

Cities which are mentioned are Huesca (Weska) (NPA:n°25), Guadalajara (*wád alḥajára*) (NPH:n°3), Seville (Išbílya) (NPH:n°13)

The parting of the lovers is sometimes situated at the sea shore. (NPA:n°29) Since there are cities at the sea-shore, this place is not necessarily rural. Anyway, this particular setting has also been recorded in the Arabic *xarja* we quoted earlier.

III. *Union and separation*

a The lover asks the beloved to join her at night:

Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz (*ʿUdda* n°22):⁷⁹

mew sídi abráhim/ ya+ nwémne dóle vént+ a(d)míb de nóxte
o nón si non kéreš virém+ a(d)tíb ġarré(d)me ób liqárte/

“Mi señor Abraham, nombre dulce, ven a mí de noche, o no, si no quieres, vendréme a ti, dime dónde encontrarte”. (NPA:n°1)⁸⁰

The lover asks the beloved to come:

Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 89-91):

bén sídi béne/ el q+eredás tánto béne/ d+ést+ azzaméne
bén filyo d+ abn+ addayéne/

“Ven, mi señor, ven, el que heredáis tanto bien de este tiempo, ven hijo de I.D.”. (NPH:n°1)⁸¹

b The lover complains about her lover’s absence:

Anonymous (*ʿUdda* n°31):

ġár kán lebaréy d+ algáyba no+ ntánto
ya wélyos de alʿášīqa si nón tu/

“Di cuánto soportaré de ausencia mientras tanto, ¡ay, ojos de la enamorada, si por ti no fuera!”. (NPA:n°2). Other songs of absence are NPA:n°^{os}

79 All texts are from Corriente’s recent article “Nueva propuesta de las *xarajāt* de la serie árabe con texto romance” (Corriente 1993), abbreviated NPA. The texts from the Hebrew series are from the forthcoming article by Corriente and Sáenz-Badillos, “Nueva propuesta de lectura de las *xarajāt* con texto romance de la serie hebrea”, abbreviated NPH. All numbers of the *xarja*-s correspond to Jones (1988) for the Arabic series and Stern (1973) for the Hebrew series, although n°s 21-25 of the Hebrew series have not been incorporated in Stern.

80 Other examples “és tú+ [sta] nóxte amíri” (“tú eres esta noche mi príncipe”) In n°25 the lover asks for a kiss.

81 Benabu & Yahalom (1986) read “vençeray beni/ el querer estaba béni/ dexta al-zameni/ con filio [d’] Ibn al-Dayyan” (“I shall indeed overcome [all impediments]/ Loving was good [in the past] Leave (hostile) Time/ To the son of Ibn al-Dayyan”).

2, 12, 18; 21 and 31).

c Separation is required by the lover:

Anonymous ('Udda n°90):

ya vét+ en+ e(d) vét+ en/ wú ya tenrád/
kí+ ndar xáli/ es, kered?/

“¡Vete ya y vete! ¡Cara ya tendrá! ¿Quién alertar a la parentela quiere?”. (NPA:n°3) Another example is the phrase /báy ya raqí báy tú bíya... (“Vete, desvergonzado, vete tu, fuera...”. (NPH:n°19)

IV. *Physical description of the lovers*

a The beloved is white/ blond (*albo*; NPA:n°7)

b The lover has a dark skin:

Al-Kumayt ('Udda n°178):

non kéro ya un xaléllo/ illá assamrélllo/

“No quiero ya un queridillo, sino el morenillo”. (NPA:n°13), or:

Anonymous:

ya asmár ya qúrrat al^caynín ki potrád lebáre algáyba ḥabîbi?/

“Moreno, alegría de mis ojos, ¿quién podrá soportar la ausencia, mi amado?”. (NPH:n°20)⁸²

c The lover has blond hair, a white neck and a red mouth:

Anonymous ('Udda n°190)

mámma áy ḥabîbi/ so+ ljumélla šaqrélla
élla qóllo álbo/ e bokélla ḥamrélla/

“Madre, ¡qué amado! Bajo la melenilla rubita, aquel cuello blanco y la boquita rojita!”. (NPA:n°14)⁸³

The beloved wishes to see the white neck of the lover:

Y^chūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody II:324-5):

...kól álbo kered bér mew sídi/ non kered alḥulí/

82 It is remarkable that here the word for 'eyes' is in Arabic, whereas in another *xarja*, the Romance word (*welyos*) is used (NPH n°18).

83 Cf. “bokélla hámra” in 'Udda n°276, NPA n°19; or a “sweet mouth”. “bokéllat+ al^cíqde dól kom+ aššúhudi” (“boquita de collar, dulce como la miel”) NPA n°36.

“...cuello blanco quiere ver mi señor, no quiere joyas”. (NPH:n°11)⁸⁴

- d The beloved has a ‘sweet mouth’ (“...bokélla/ ḥúlwa mithl+ áš”; “...boquita dulce como qué!). NPA:n°24

V. *Psychological descriptions of the lovers*

- a The lover is desperate and asks ‘what to do’: ‘ké faréyo’ (‘¿Qué he de hacer?’) (NPA:n°6); or ‘ké faréy’; (‘¿Qué he de hacer yo?’) (NPA:n°32), or ‘ké serád de míbe’ (‘¿qué será de mí’) (NPA:n°40). (Other examples from the Hebrew series: NPH:n°s 14, 15, 16, 22).

- b The lover tells her mother that she is afraid that she is going mad with love. (NPA:n°30a/b)

- c The lover suffers from the cruelty of the beloved who is aggressive and is able to hurt or even kill her. Psychological aggressiveness is involved here and real physical cruelty.

Al-A^cmā (‘Udda n°102):

amáni amáni ya+ lmalīḥ ḡarre/ porqé tú qerés/ balláhi mattáre/

“¿Gracia, gracia! Hermoso, di: ¿Porqué tú quieres, pardiez, matar?”. (NPA:n°5)

- d The lover complains about the cruelty of her lover:

Anonymous (‘Udda n°149):

est+ arraḡī^c mámma est+ alḡarakí/ báyja(d)me qáhra/ e(d)
rompído alfanaké/

“Este desvergonzado, madre, este alborotador, bésame a la fuerza, y roto esta el alfaneque”. (NPA:n°10), or:

Al-Kumayt (*Jayš* section 6, poem 9):

la kán fi bóno asá amadóre...

“Maldito el hermoso que hace daño al amante...”. (NPA:n°34),⁸⁵ or:

Y^cḥūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody II: 6-7):

non me téngas⁸⁶. ya ḡabībi kanqarrád+ en+ éso
alḡilála ráxša bísto/ e(d) tóta+ m rebéso

“No me sujetes, querido, me encojo en eso: camisa fina visto y toda me

⁸⁴ Interesting is that the same phrase is used by Ibn Quzmān, as Corriente observed (35/4/4).

⁸⁵ Cf. NPA:n°37.

⁸⁶ MS.: ‘nqš

revuelvo". (NPH:n°8)⁸⁷

e The beloved is asked not to bite:

Ibn Baqiyy and Ibn Ruḥaym (*Udda* n°s 344 and 345):

non me mórdas ya ḥabībi kanniqarrád en+ éso/
alḡilála ráxša bísto e(d) tóṭa me revéso/

"No me muerdas, querido, no, que me encojo en eso: camisa fina visto y toda me revuelvo". (NPA:n°23a/b).

f Special metaphors or descriptions for the beloved:

the beloved is a prince (*amíri*) (NPA:n°4); shameless and a mischief-maker (*arraqí^c*; *alḥarakí*) (NPA:n°10; NPH:n°19); a thief ('palomo ladrón') (NPH:n°5); prostitute (*fájra*) (NPH:n°12).

g The beloved is love-sick:

Al-A^cmā (*Udda* n°124):

mew alḥabīb enférmo de mew amár/ kerrád sanár/
ya ni(n) qís+ a(d)+ mí(b) bér košéd mew loḡár/

"Mi amante, enfermo de mi amor, querrá sanar: ya ni quísome ver: ponéos en mi lugar". (NPA:n°8), or:

Y^chūdāh ha-Lēḡī (Brody II: 321-2):

báy(d)se mew qoraón de mīb/ ya ráb si se me tornarád/
tan mál me dóled l+ alḥabīb/ enférmo yéd kand sanarád/

"Se me va el corazón, Dios mío, ¿si me volverá? Tan mal me hace sufrir el amado! Está enfermo: ¿cuándo sanará?" (NPH:n°9),⁸⁸ or by the same poet (Brody II: 322-3):

/así ke sanés de berdád/ qerbád/
bos d+ alwaḥša e(d) máys enfermád/

"Así que hayáis sanado de verdad, rompéos de nostalgia y más enfermád". (NPH:n°10)

h The lover is dying from love-sickness:

Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (*Jayš* section 9, poem 8):

...ḥabībi jī ^cíndi/ adúnam+ amánde/ ke móyrome/

"...mi amado, ven a mí, acércateme amando, que muérome". (NPA:n°36),

87 Cf. AQ:n°23.

88 As Stern observed (1974:141-2), the same *xarja* is used by Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḡīyyāh.

or:

Aḥrāhām b. ʿEzrā:

gār ké faréyo/ kóm bibréyo/
est+ alḥabīb á(s) sabér por él morréyo/

“Di, ¿qué hare? ¿cómo viveré? Este amado, has de saber, por él moriré”.
(NPH:nº15)

i The female is in charge; she determines what will happen between the lovers:

Al-Jazzār and Ibn Labbūn (*Jayš* section 11, poem 1; section 12, poem 7):

mámma+ st+ alḡulám/ la búd kúllu liyya/ ḥalál aw ḥarám/

“Madre, este mozo, ha de ser todo mío, por ley o contra ella”.
(NPA:nº38a/b)

VI. *Obscene texts and/or erotic postures*

An erotic posture is alluded at in the following *xarja*:

Anonymous (ʿUdda nº140):

non te matréry illá kon+ aššárṭi/ an tijammá^c xalxáli ma^c qúrṭi/

“No te mataré sino con la condición de que juntes mi ajorca con mi zarcillo”. (NPA:nº9).⁸⁹

VII. *Bacchic themes* (xamriyyāt)

As Corriente has observed, in the following *xarja* a bacchic song, expressed by the female wine-pourer, has been appended to a *muwaššaha*:

Ibn Baqiyy⁹⁰ (*Jayš* Section 1, poem 2):

mujális keréy/ min mórte leṭaréy/ ʿarif kúllu min áy/
aní naššaddád/ balláhi ké faréy/

“Compañero, crée[me]: de morir me alegraré: ¿cómo sabe él todo? Huiré, por Dios, ¿qué haré?”. (NPA:nº27)

VIII. *Religious themes*

a Easter

According to the recent interpretation by Corriente, the *xarja* with the

89 The Arabic section of this *xarja* comes from Eastern Arabic poetry. See García Gómez (1952:92; 1965:144-145) and Jones (1988:88).

90 According to Jones, this poem is wrongly attributed to Ibn Baqiyy. He states that it is more probable that ʿUbāda was the author of this poem (1988:198).

word *Pascua* (Easter) has nothing to do with the Christian Easter. Here, Easter is compared to the hardships of *Ramaḍān* (Corriente 1993:32):

Ibn Baqiyy (°Udda: n°167):⁹¹

béned la páska ayún sin élle/ xasréya mew qoraón por élle/

“Resulta la Pascua (como el) ayuno sin él: perdí (o lástima de) mi corazón por él”. (NPA:n°12)

- b A girl exclaims that the *sūra yāsīn* does not help her in her madness (NPA:n°30).

IX. Festivals

The celebration of Saint John (*sanjuanada*; °*ánṣara*) is recorded in the following frequently quoted *xarja*:⁹²

Al-A°mā (°Udda n°311):

álba díya esta díya/ díya d+ al°ánṣara ḥáqqa/
bestiréy mew almudabbáj/ wanišúqq+ arrúmḥa šáqqa/

“Blanco día [es] este día, la Sanjuanada, en verdad: me pondré mi traje de brocado y bien quebraré la lanza”. (NPA:n°22)

X. The *alba*-theme

In the following *xarja*, the lover sings to her mother that she will not sleep until daybreak. The word *maṭrana* is used as a metaphor for the face of the lover:⁹³

Al-Lāridī (°Uddat n°230):

non dormiréyo mámma/ a(d) ráyo de mañána/
bón abulqásim/ la fáe de maṭrána/

“No dormiré, madre, hasta la raya del alba: hermoso es A., rostro de amanecer”. (NPA:n°17)

XI. «Buen amor»

In the following *xarja*, we see the expression of good-love (*buen amor*):

Ibn al-Labbāna (*Jayš* section 4, poem 9):

ya qoraóne ke kerés bón amár/...

“Corazón ke kerés bón amár/... (NPA:n°29)

91 Same *xarja* in the Hebrew series (n°5).

92 Cf. Haykal (1958:170) and °Abbās (1963:t).

93 For the word *maṭrana*, see Révah (1953:148).

XII. *Misogyny*

The only example of the theme of misogyny is found in a Romance *xarja* from the Hebrew series. The text refers to Job, II, 10:

yámmi ké qáwl ayyúb/ 'áql annisá qáqqa/...

“Madre, ¿qué es lo que dice Job? El juicio de las mujeres es porquería...”.
(NPH:n^o 21)

8.4 Romance and Arabic parallels

As we tried to demonstrate, the major part of the Romance *xarja*-s can be classified as complaints by a female about the absence or the parting of the lover. The *xarja*-s with a hedonistic content or with the *carpe diem* theme are not found in the Romance *xarja*-s. A minority shows joyful expressions of the union between lovers. If we consider the *xarja*-s as independent songs - something that is not really correct - we can establish the following relationships between these texts and Iberian traditional poetry:

– *Canciones de confidente*

The central figure in such songs is usually the mother, but we also find the sister. Romance parallels are found in all regions, although less frequently in the Provençal and French *refrains*. Here I mention the following parallel:

...Mia madre, como viverei?
ca non dormio nen dormirei,
pois meu amig'en cas del-rei
me tard'a tan longa sazon. (Frenk 1985:141)

The invocation of sister and mother:

Mia irmãa fremosa, treides comigo
a la igreja de Vig', u é o mar salido,
e miraremo-las ondas... (Reckert 1976:n^o29:152)

The invocation directed at the mother is never found in Arabic (*umm(ī)*) in the Hebrew *corpus* and only sporadically in the Arabic series. The word *mámma*, however, is used very frequently in the Romance *xarja*-s from both series.⁹⁴ It is significant that in the Arabic corpus we find in the Arabic series invocations directed at the father and brothers, not recorded in the Romance series.

94 Cf. Ġāzī (1979 II:637; I:113 and I:402).

– *Canciones de requerimiento*

Many *xarja*-s can be classified as *canciones de requerimiento*. We have seen parallels in the Arabic *xarja*-s⁹⁵ and they have also been recorded frequently in Romance literature.

– *Canciones de ausencia*

Most *xarja*-s can be classified as *canciones de ausencia*, which is a universal theme, recorded in all literatures.

– *Canciones de amigo (canciones de ḥabīb)*

Many Romance *xarja*-s share with Galician lyricism the phrase 'What shall I do, my friend'. The word *ḥabībī* is the exact parallel for *amigo*, as we can see in the following fragment:

Que farei, agor, amigo
pois que non queredes migo viver?
Ca non poss'eu al ben querer. (Frenk 1985:141)

The phrase 'Qué farey?' can be found in the *cantigas de amigo*, the Old French and Provençal *refrains* (Frenk 1952), in the popular Castilian *villancicos*, but also in the Arabic parallels 'wayš ná'malú, yā rābbī' (Monroe & Swiatlo n°80) and 'mā āšna' (Monroe & Swiatlo n°81) and 'aw āyš 'asā yā'mal' (Monroe & Swiatlo n°91). These three examples are extracted from Arabic *xarja*-s in Hebrew *muwaššahāt* and it is significant that the phrase has not been recorded in the Arabic *xarja*-s from the Arabic *muwaššahāt*. Anyway, this expression is recorded more frequently in the Romance *xarja*-s from Hebrew texts than in the Arabic series.

– *The alba. The dawn-song. The alba-theme*

As we all know, the alba-theme (*albada, alborada*)⁹⁶ is recorded in all literatures, as we can see in the exhaustive collection by Hatto (1965) and Saville (1972). In the Arabic series, the theme can be traced in Ġāzī (1979:I:459) and the *xarja* (NPA:n°17) shares probably features of the dawn-song as it is known in Romance literature. Hitchcock considered the dawn-songs as 'false dawn', because the dawn is a specific metaphor in Arabic literature, which is totally different from the Romance *alba*. Since the theme of the dawn is such a universal theme, it seems to me unnecessary to exclude this theme *a priori* in the Romance *xarja*-s. The theme of the dawn-song is probably not present in NPH:n°17, since the bilingual phrase 'aššabāḥ bóno' is translated by Corriente and Sáenz as 'Good morning', which is only a greeting formula.

95 Cf. Ġāzī (1979 I 396, I 229, II 49, II 92 and I 83)

96 For the etymology and meaning of the word *alba* and its derivations see Grieria (1950)

– *Love-sickness. Dying for love*

This is also apparently a universal theme, recorded throughout the whole world. In Arabic literature, this theme is represented in the ^cUdrite love, and in the Arabic *xarja*-s as well. In the Romance series, this theme is recorded and Romance parallels are omnipresent, such as the following:

Foi-s' un dia meu amigo d'aqui
e non me viu, e por que o non vi
madre, ora morrerai. (Frenk 1985:141)

– *Canciones de mujer*

Although the lover who expresses or sings the *xarja* of the Romance series is usually a female, the masculine form predominates in the Arabic series, although in the latter *corpus* the female is not absent. Feminine lyricism is found in all traditional poetry throughout Europe, and the Andalusian poets could have been inspired by such songs. This does not mean that Arabic literature did not have feminine lyric. In the popular *hawfī*-songs of Algeria, as Monroe has demonstrated, many parallels of these *xarja*-s have been recorded. It seems an exaggeration to consider these songs as part of a typical non-Arabic Iberian *substratum*.⁹⁷ An important contribution to the discussions is the article written by Kelley (1991), entitled 'Virgins misconceived'. According to Kelley, the idea of virginal Romance lyricism, as opposed to lascivious, voluptuous Arabic poetry, is an invention by male Spanish scholars and does not reflect reality.

– *Arabic themes*

Obviously the pre-Islamic themes mentioned belong to the Arabic tradition and cannot be traced in Romance literature. An intra-Arabic theme is the specific erotic scene which originated from the Eastern *muḥḍaṭūn*. Amatory poems and wine-themes resemble the ^cAbbāsīd *ġazal* and *xam-riyyāt*.

The *raqīb* has been recorded in all series, but is more frequent in the Romance *xarja*-s. The watcher, however, also has its parallel in Romance poetry (*gardador*). The *cançón de gilós* from Provençal lyricism, which is known throughout Europe, cannot be found in the extant *corpus*, since the reading of the word *gilos* has been rejected. The most specific Arabic metaphors, which we saw in the Arabic *corpus*, are not found in the Romance *corpus*, which seems to me proof that the Romance texts are not a mere translation of Arabic examples. As Abu Haidar (1991)⁹⁸ and Ken-

97 For 'Women songs' in England, see Malone (1962) and Davidson (1975). The High-German *Frauenlieder* have been studied by Frenk (1985) and Ganz (1953).

98 "The birds which figure in Hispano-Arabic poetry are almost invariably those which appear in poetic compositions in the Arab East, the *qatāt* (sand-grouse), the *qumrī* (turtledove) and the *ḥamām* (dove or pigeon), as well as the *mukkā*, a songbird which makes an early appearance in the *mu'allāqa* of Imru' al-Qays" (Abu Haidar 1991b:20).

nedy (1991a and 1991b) have demonstrated, the description of flora and fauna in Arabic literature is so alien to Provençal stock-imagery that a direct impact of Arabic literature in this respect is most unlikely. It must be observed that this stock-imagery from Arabic literature is not only absent in Provençal poetry, but also in the Romance *xarja*-s, with some exceptions. This means that what Abu Haidar tried to prove is also valid for the Romance *xarja*-s.

Other specific Arabic subjects are references to the Holy Koran, the Prophet or Muslim legislation.

– *Hebrew themes*

The Sabbath as a Jewish feastday is of course only recorded in the Hebrew series. The reference to the book of Job is also a culture-specific subject.

– *Romance themes*

Romance themes which have not been recorded in the Arabic series are Easter, which reminds us of the *canciones de mayo* and the word *‘anšara*, which is the equivalent for *sanjuanada*.⁹⁹ Jones suggested (1988b) that the concept of *buen amor* has Romance parallels, since this word has not been recorded in the Arabic *corpus*. The concept of *buen amor* is attested in popular and courtly Romance lyricism.¹⁰⁰

The thematic features and the traditionalist thesis

A few years after the publication of Stern, Dámaso Alonso and Menéndez Pidal published their respective articles which would be the basis of most of the studies of the following decades. Dámaso Alonso (1949) was the first scholar to place the Romance *xarja*-s in a European context. He postulated that the earliest European lyrical poetry was born in Spain. Menéndez Pidal states that, just as the Romance vernacular language derived from Latin, the lyrical tradition also derived from Roman literature. There always existed a vulgar literature in Spain, although these texts have not been handed down. According to Menéndez Pidal, the Romance *xarja*-s provide evidence for the existence of a vernacular lyric, earlier than the documented texts. Pidal states that the *canciones mozárabes*, together with the *cantigas de amigo* and the *villancicos* constitute “tres ramas de un robusto tronco milenario” (Menéndez Pidal 1951:230). He introduces the term *canciones de ḥabib* for the *xarja*-s, which corresponds with the analogous *cantigas de amigo*. Menéndez Pidal also states that these *canciones de ḥabib* were exclusively popular lyrics (1951:229). Not only the *xarja*-s existed in the pre-literary period in oral tradition, but also the *zajal* and

99 For Romance parallels see Armistead and Silverman (1965-66).

100 Cf. *Bone Amour* of Gace Brulé (Lemaire 1987:213) and for Castilian *buen amor* see Frenk (1987:nº 1663): “Buen amor, no me deis guerra/ qu’esta noche’s la primera! and also nº 1715.

the *muwaššah*. He even goes a little further when he speaks about “La eterna Andalucía”. Many centuries before the Arabs came to *Hispania*, there already existed a literary tradition. Baetica was already in the days of Imperial Rome a centre of culture and Cádiz was famous for its *Cantica Gadicana*. Both *Cantica Gadicana*¹⁰¹ and the Andalusian *muwaššahāt* reveal “el poder difusivo del inextinguible genio creador andaluz” and represent the “carácter colectivo asombrosamente perdurable a través de dos mil años” (1951:253).

The idea of the timelessness and universality of popular lyrics is not an invention of Menéndez Pidal. Frings’ theory (1949) demonstrated the existence of interrelations between traditional lyrical themes, such as the *Frauenlieder* and the *cantigas de amigo*, *chanson de toile*, the *alba* and the *pastorela*, which are to be considered narrative-dramatic re-elaborations of *Frauenlieder*. The popular origin of lyrical poetry must be kept distinct from later learned incrustations or infiltrations (*Durchschichtung*) (Spitzer 1952:2). Spitzer placed the *xarja*-s for the first time in the context of Frings’ theories of the German *Frauenlieder* (1952:8-9), although he admits that in the *xarja*-s some other persons have been recorded which are unknown in the European context, such as the soothsayer, the jeweller and the merchant who has the role of a messenger. Another difference is the urban context of the *xarja*-s, in contrast to the Galaico-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* and the German *Frauenlieder*, which are strictly rural. Spitzer also commented on the theories of Américo Castro and Michaëlis, who denied the existence of lyrical poetry altogether, as opposed to the Galaico-Portuguese lyrical tradition. According to Spitzer, this theory must be revised after the discovery of the *xarja*-s (1952:11). He states that the *xarja*-s corroborate Frings’ theory of “the popular layer underlying troubadour poetry” (1952:21). Spitzer demonstrated that the description of the *Frauenlieder* made by Frings -the “Glückslaut or *Klage* im Munde des Mädchens, aber von einem Mann, dem Dichter, hineingelegt”, has an exact parallel in the *xarja*-s.

Masculine and feminine poetry in Arabic and Occidental tradition

In many cases, the Andalusian poets used homosexual *topoi*, since they took the Oriental poets, such as Abū Nuwās, as their examples. However, it is rather difficult to distinguish clearly between masculine and feminine songs, and it is even more difficult to establish the boundaries between homosexual and heterosexual love-poetry. The masculine poet (I exclude for the moment the poetesses, such as Nazhūn) had many techniques at his disposal for expressing his love for someone. In the first place, praising someone in a panegyric does not mean automatically true love for such a

101 For a recent study concerning the relation between the *puellae gaditanae* and the *xarja*-s, see Richard Hitchcock (1991c).

person. Many poets composed love-poetry because this was their job. The poet had the option to speak for himself by using a *xarja* expressed by himself, or he could put the words into the mouth of another person and he could choose between masculine or feminine voice, depending on the predilections of the praised. It seems very likely that the Andalusian poets followed their Eastern examples writing both homosexual and heterosexual poetry. When we read the *dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān, we see that this poet wrote both heterosexual and homosexual poetry. Another complicating factor is the fact that the same *xarja* can be put into the mouth of a man and the same text can be used in a feminine context. Borrowing a *xarja* or a *maṭla*^c is a very common feature used by the poets. It has been argued that the *muwaššahāt* containing Romance material close more frequently by introducing a female person in the *xarja*, which is the thesis put forward by Fish Compton (1976).

Monroe and Swiatlo came to the same conclusion when they studied the Arabic *xarja*-s in the Hebrew *corpus*.¹⁰² In the Arabic *xarja*-s the female voice is not absent, and it has been said that "they may reflect a tradition of feminine lyrics in Arabic which may have been imitated from Romance tradition" (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:161). It is also an important fact that older *xarja*-s introduced by a female voice in Hebrew *muwaššahāt* can be found also in *xarja*-s of Arabic poems where the same text is put into the mouth of a masculine voice. If the Arabic *xarja* is of a later date, this could mean that from the 11th century on, the female *xarja*-s were beginning to disappear from the repertoire. The *xarja*¹⁰³ of Y^ehūdāh b. Yīṣḥāq b. Ġī'aṭ, who lived in the Taifa period (1038-1089) contains the words of a female, and the same *xarja* is used in an Arabic *muwaššaha* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Saraqūṣī, also called Ibn Bājjā, a poet who worked under the Almoravids (died in 1138). Here, the same words are put into the mouth of a man. Ibn Bājjā competed in witty compositions with al-A^cmā al-Tuṭīlī at the court of Ibn Tīfilwīt at Saragossa, which is the *xarja* of Ibn Ṣaddīq where the texts is introduced by a female voice.¹⁰⁴ This demonstrates that the same texts can be used for different purposes, so that we must be careful in classifying such texts as 'homosexual' versus 'heterosexual', 'masculine' or 'female' poetry.

102 "It is striking that such feminine lyrics constitute a relatively minor part of the corpus, in contrast to the Mozarabic *xarja*-s, which are predominantly feminine in character" (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:161).

103 Monroe & Swiatlo (1977:n^o21).

104 Monroe and Swiatlo (1977:n^o44). Ibn Ṣaddīq died in 1149 and al-A^cmā in 1126, so we cannot say which *xarja* is earlier.

8.5 Conclusion

The *muwaššah* is used, like the *qaṣīd* for erotic and laudatory poetry. Like the *qaṣīda*, many *muwaššahāt* are polythematic, as is attested by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk. According to the prescriptions of the theoreticians, the panegyric *muwaššah* must start with a *nasīb*, and the transition to the next section, the *madīh*, must be realized abruptly. In continuation, the poet had to make a transition to the final section in the *tamhīd*, the penultimate unit where we can find the transitional and introductory formulas which prepare the shift of focus (style, register, *dramatis personae*). The technique of constructing the *muwaššah* with its particular accumulation of topics and themes can be explained from intra-Arabic features and is inherited directly from the pre-Islamic period and the urban Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd *qaṣīd*. The thematic features, in particular wine and love compositions, most resemble the 'Abbāsīd *ġazal* (Arazi 1991:119).

As has been argued in earlier pages, the Hebrew *corpus* is better documented than the Arabic *corpus*. We know almost all authors of Hebrew poems by name, whereas anonymous compositions form the major part of the 'Udda. In other Arabic collections the number of anonymous compositions is high. We can reconstruct with more precise details the socio-historical background of the Hebrew *corpus* than that of the Arabic collection. The individuals who are honoured in encomiastic poetry are normally mentioned by name, whereas many panegyrics of the Arabic series cannot be traced exactly.

If we compare the different *corpora*, we must also study the chronology. It has been pointed out in several studies that many poets after the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* composed their *muwaššahāt* more and more in the style of the classical *qaṣīda*. The Romance element became superfluous and classical features absorbed the *muwaššah*. This means that, when classical Arabic features are recorded in the later corpus, these Arabic *xarja*-s are not to be regarded as translations or imitations of Romance models. Therefore, we must examine the chronology of the *xarja*-s and their varying proportion of Romance and Arabic elements. Much material was written by the Almoravid and Almohad poets. This means that the surviving texts of the Arabic parallels are not to be regarded as later imitations of Romance models but they are creations of poets who composed Romance and Arabic *xarja*-s. Some Hebrew material, however, belongs to the earliest period (11th century). The lack of dates prevents us from choosing between the two opposite theses, namely that the Romance *xarja*-s were translations or imitations of Arabic models, or that the Arabic *xarja*-s are translations of Romance models. Since we know that the same poets wrote both Romance and Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s, we are inclined to conclude that all texts belong to one lyrical tradition. In my description of thematic typology of these *xarja*-s I observed that:

- Some *xarja*-s are indeed conform to the lyrical tradition of the Arabs. Even pre-Islamic themes are recorded in the *xarja*-s. Since the *xarja* is

usually a quotation or a semi-quotation of older examples, it does not surprise us that the Andalusian poets took their examples from their own stock-imagery.

- The earliest *canciones de confidente* are recorded in both series. The earliest Romance example is written by Ibn Labbūn, who was Lord of Murviedro in the Taifa-period (second half of the 11th century). The oldest Arabic example of a *canción de confidente* was written by Ibn Šaraf, who wrote in Almería for al-Muṭašim. It is impossible to determine who imitated whom.
- The invocation to the mother is never expressed in Arabic (*ummi*) in the Hebrew *corpus* and only exceptionally in the Arabic series, whereas the word *mamma* is used frequently in both series.
- Poets of *muwaššahāt* with Romance or bilingual *xarja*-s introduce more frequently a female voice than those of the *muwaššahāt* with Hispano-Arabic endings. Although this is an important difference, we must restrain ourselves from jumping to conclusions by considering these Hispano-Romance as genuine Iberian *Frauenlieder*, alien to Arabic tradition, since in Arabic tradition the woman's voice is not completely unknown. Obviously, in the *muwaššahāt* with Hispano-Arabic endings the female voice is an exception.
- Many expressions in Romance have Arabic translations or vice versa from the same period. One example is the expression 'come, my lord come', which has been recorded in Romance (*ben, sydy ben*) in a composition written by Y^ehūdāh ha-Lēbī, and the same expression is found in the Arabic language in an 11th century composition written by al-Jazzār. This may also reflect one lyrical tradition that was present in two languages.
- The expression '¿Qué farey?' has been recorded more frequently in Romance *xarja*-s from Hebrew *muwaššahāt* than in Arabic *muwaššahāt* with Romance or bilingual endings. However, it is surprising that Y^ehūdāh ha-Lēbī does not use the Romance expression '¿Qué farey?' like his later Hebrew and Arabic colleagues such as Ibn Ruḥaym (Almoravid), Aḇrāhām b. ʿEzrā (Almoravid) in Romance; and al-Manīšī and Ibn ʿIsā (Almohad) in Arabic. Y^ehūdāh ha-Lēbī opted for the Arabic expression *fa-yā rabb mā ašnaʿ*, but when he composed in Romance he wrote *ya rabb, como viveré yo*.
- There is no Romance equivalent for *ḥabībī* recorded, such as *amigo*.
- The *raqīb* has been recorded in all series, but more frequently in the Romance *xarja*-s. The watcher, however, also has parallels in Romance poetry (*gardador*). The word *gilós*, which calls to mind the Provençal *cançón de gilós*, cannot be supported in the palaeographical edition of Jones (1988).
- The most specific Arabic metaphors, which we saw in the Arabic *corpus*, are not to be found in the Romance *corpus*. This is a strong argument for the theory that the Romance texts are not a mere translation of Arabic examples.

- The concept of *buen amor* has no equivalent in Arabic.
- The expression *filyól alyéno* ('someone else's child') is only recorded in Romance and does not have Arabic parallels.

The Romance *xarja*-s do not form an isolated *corpus*, which is clearly distinguishable from the Arabic *corpus*. Most themes, which in earlier studies were supposed to be 'Romance', 'Iberian', 'Hispanic', or even 'Spanish', have been recorded also in the Arabic *xarja*-s. There are some exceptions, since some Romance words or themes do not occur in the Arabic *corpus*. In reproducing or imitating Romance speaking or singing girls, in many cases Christian, the Andalusian authors incorporated in some cases extra-Arabic realities, although these texts cannot be regarded as genuine Romance thematic features. The Romance material shares the features of the Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s. There are no significant thematic differences between the Romance and the Hispano-Arabic *xarja*-s, with few exceptions. The only important difference between the two series is the language. It would probably be impossible to tell the two collections apart if they were translated into a third language.

9 Stylistic features

9.1 Popular and courtly literature

Since the publication of the Romance and bilingual *xarja*-s, the old discussion about the interrelationship between popular and courtly literature has been revitalised. According to defenders of the traditionalist theory, the Muslim poets were influenced by a popular substrate. The *xarja*-s were evidence of the existence of popular poetry and these 'songs' have been studied as counterpoint, contrasting with the main body of the 'learned', 'manneristic' *muwaššah*, which is written in the classical language, although not always according to the prosodic canons of al-Xalīl b. Aḥmad. If we classify the *muwaššah* and its *xarja* in such a way, we run the risk of committing serious errors. Arabic treatises did not treat these non-classical strophic forms in the same way. Ibn Bassām prefers not to include these poems in his *Daxīra*, while others studied them and included them in their treatises or anthologies. Many *muwaššahāt* are obviously learned compositions, with all prosodic and thematic features inherited from Eastern pre-Islamic poets and the Islamic urban *muḥdaṭūn*. The result of the elaboration of complicated rhyme-schemes was that these poems began to be alienated from what we call popular literature, which is characterized by simplicity. In the extant manuscripts, many elaborate techniques are employed, and this reality does not square with the Arabic *poetica*. To illustrate this, I refer to Ibn Xaldūn in his paragraph on Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, where we read that "*muwaššahāt* written by Easterners are often forced". He also states that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk forms an exception. Ibn Ḥazmūn, also quoted by Ibn Xaldūn, states that "A *muwaššaha* is not a *muwaššaha*, until it is entirely free from forced artificiality." (Rosenthal 1967:III:448). In this chapter I shall examine style and register of the Andalusian *xarja*-s. Earlier studies did not concern themselves with the connection between the Andalusian and the Arabic canons of rhetoric, since they took for granted that their 'vernacular' texts were incompatible with classical canons of rhetoric.¹ As a matter of principle, before we start applying Greco-Latin rhetorical models to these texts, we should try to see them in the light of the Arabic system. In addition, I shall compare the stylistic devices with Romance parallels. If the Arabic system of rhetoric turns out to be an adequate system for the analysis of vernacular (or semi-vernacular) texts, this will contribute yet another argument for the Arabic character of these texts.

1 We see a parallel between al-Ḥillī's observations concerning *ī'rāb/tanwīn*, etc. in the *zajal* and the use of *badī'* in it. Al-Ḥillī states (Hoenerbach & Ritter 1950:273) that the older *zajal* is free from *badī'* style. However, many examples of *badī'* figures can be found in the *dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān. More studies about the use of *badī'* in the *zajal* are needed.

– Style and register

The use of familiar language or expressions without prestigious literary techniques is not automatically a reason for categorising such texts in a low register. In the highest classical register, blasphemous, plebeian or even pornographic or obscene ideas can be expressed, whereas in a low register elaborate techniques of rhetoric can be applied. Ibn Xaldūn informs us of the relation between linguistic and stylistic phenomena. I quote the passage in question:

It should be known that taste as to what constitutes eloquence in connection with such poetry [vernacular poetry] is possessed only by those who have contact with the dialect in which (a particular poem) is composed, and who have had much practice in using it among the people who speak it. Only thus do they acquire the habit of it, as we stated with regard to the Arabic language. A Spaniard has no understanding of the eloquence of Maghribī poetry. Maghribīs have none for the eloquence of the poetry of Easterners or Spaniards, and Easterners have none for the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribīs. All of them use different dialects and word combinations. Everybody understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the beauties of the poetry of his own people (Rosenthal 1967:III:479-480).

Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's *Dār al-Ṭirāz* is another source where we find an exposition and evaluation of style and register of the *xarja*, as opposed to the main body of the *muwašṣaḥa*. I quoted earlier his prescriptions for the *xarja*-s, which must be *piquant*, Ibn Quzmān-like, or even in thieves' slang (*luḡat al-dāṣṣa*). If we compare this description with the extant texts, we see that this is indeed true for a great number of them, although some have been composed more in accordance with classical themes. I shall illustrate this with the following examples:

- We find in many *xarja*-s curses, or vituperations, in particular in those texts where a girl is angry about the cruel treatment of her lover. In such conditions, she calls her beloved a villain (*xalāq* “palomo ladrón”) (NPH:n°5) or a scoundrel (cf. the expression /báy ya raqí' báy tú bíya... “Vete, desvergonzado, vete tu, fuera...”) (NPH:n°19). Sometimes the beloved is compared with a prostitute (*fájra*) (NPH:n°12).
- The word *qáqqa* in the expression ‘áql annisá qáqqa (El juicio de las mujeres es porquería; NPH:n°21) is directly borrowed from the language of children and this word has been attested in Arabic and in Latin as well.
- According to many scholars, among them Ribera, the *azjāl* reflect the language of the street; many others maintained that the same is true for the *xarja*-s. In one of the *xarja*-s we see that this is literally true. The expression “¡Voceo por las calles!”² (*nadáytu fal'asmát*) in the *xarja* by

al-Šābūnī (*‘Udda* n°141), quoted in chapter 8, is evidence of the fact that the language of many *xarja*-s is derived from the language of the streets. (Ad:28)

- Minor professions are frequently mentioned, such as the glazier (*zajjāj*) (AQ:n°19), the shop owner (*šāhib addukkān*), the barkeeper, who is also called more discretely a ‘perfume dealer’ (AQ:n°41) or the tailor (Ad.n°28). We see also that the lover is in love with a bricklayer (Ġāzī 1979:I:434): “veo al amado de mi corazón trabajando de albañil” (AQ:107).³ In any case we can say that the language of many *xarja*-s indeed can be situated in the lower ranks of society, although most poets themselves wrote for a learned and courtly audience.
- Familiar language is reflected in all those *xarja*-s where the mother, sister, uncle or aunt is mentioned.
- The use of onomatopoeias reflects the informal style of these texts. In particular the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān frequently use onomatopoeias, which are a characteristic feature of current speech and informal language. The following lines are quoted by Ibn Quzmān in his prologue:

Ṭāq fi xaddī wabúqq fī l-qandīl
[...]
ṭāqa ṭarṭāq yufallās assawán/
dúba durdúb bišáxra min raṭláy⁴

In the following example the sound of pouring wine, accompanied by great laughter has been recorded in a very realistic way:

Ibn Quzmān (137/8/2):

báhbaha, kán kan kán,/ qáhqaha, qáh, qah qáh!.

The sound of music is imitated in the following lines:

Ibn Quzmān (148/3/2-4):

waġiná wadánna dan dán,/ wala ʿīb waqáhha waḥ qáh,
túmma: zul ʿánni, ya qárim,/ ʿanjaráh ʿukkáni, ʾah, ʾah!
alqaṭiʿ fazzáʿni, yámma,/ tádrī aš ʿamállī? baq baq!⁵

2 Remember the literal meaning of the word *zajal* (=‘[loud] voice’)

3 Corriente (1987 240 and 1988 97, 259) added the interesting parallel from a *xarja* by al-Šuštārī “ Por qué, soberano de beldad, riges injustamente? Mañana te saldrá bozo, y te veremos ñilar” (57/7/4-5)

4 “Pfaf en mi mejilla, y puf en el candil, [] Tan, tan, llamán al zaguán, cloc, cloc, con piedra de dos libras” (Corriente 1989 37)

5 “El canto es un tarareo, el juego, una carcajada, y luego el “déjame, bruto, me has herido el pecho, ay!” Me asusta el botijo, madre Sabes qué me hizo? Boc, boc ” (Corriente 1989 258 and 322) See also 1Q/140/82 and 4⁶

The shortest strophes of *azjāl*, quoted earlier, are also full of sound effects and/or onomatopoeias:

Anonymous:

zam/zám/
ḥar/rár/ dar/hám

or:

/ša^c/šá^c/
mín dán/ an /ká^c.⁶

In the Arabic *xarja*-s onomatopoeias are also used, as the following examples demonstrate:

in nuqúl qúqu, lis balláh tudúqu

“Aunque yo diga ‘coca’, no la probarás, pardiez” (AQ:n^o71), and:

hulú kal^casál, áyya, jí, áyya

“¡Dulce como la miel, ea, ven ea!” (AQ:n^o135).⁷

Another example is the following passage in Ibn Xaldūn:

Another poet says: You who like to be united with the children of love, *naḥ*- how much pain will separation cause to the heart *awwah aḥ* (Oh, ouch). I deposited my heart *ḥaw-ḥaw*, and my practice is *baḥ*- Everybody is *kax* in my eye. Your person is *daḥ* (Rosenthal 1967:III:477-478).

- The frequent use of Arabic and Romance diminutives in our texts is another argument for their familiar, or non-official style. Of course, this does not mean that classical or official texts do not use diminutives, but an examination of the *xarja*-s reveals that the use of diminutives has its characteristic stylistic purposes.⁸ In the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān, the use of the diminutive is omnipresent and the same is true for the *xarja*-s. In the Romance *xarja*-s we find Arabic words with the Romance suffix for the diminutive.

⁶ Corriente (1994 86-87).

⁷ For the use of onomatopoeias in the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān, see also García Gómez (1972 III 445-463)

⁸ A Romance parallel is the following poem from traditional poetry “A la niña bonita chiquita y papigordita/ que Dios me la guarde,/ a la vieja mocosa, raposa y sarnapastrosa/ mal fuego la arda” (Frenk 1987 n^o1770)

Some examples from the Arabic series:

*hubáyyabi, alġuzáyyal, usáymar, šufayfāti, barrusáyla, alxušáyyaf, ħujáyla, qubáyla, šuġáyyir, dunáyyā, buwáyḍiq, mu(way)lātīya, ħuráyr,*⁹ and from the *‘Udda: buwáyḍaqan, alusaymaráyn, šuġáyyar, ġuzáyyal, ħubáyyabi, al‘uwaynát alwiqāḥ.*¹⁰ Corriente described a curious example of the use of the form *alusaymaráyn* ('Morenillo dos veces'; Ad:45) of an adjective in the diminutive and also in the dual form.

Romance diminutives:

bokella ('little mouth') (*‘Udda* n°347), which is the equivalent of the Arabic *fúmman šuġáyyar* (*‘Udda* n°180; IQ 36/0/1-2); Badrélo (Corriente 1993:n°39).

– Syntax

The opposition between artificiality and simplicity as parameters for courtly or learned poetry versus popular poetry is not only reflected in prosody or the use of themes and metaphors, but also in the syntactic structure. The frequently used phenomenon of enjambment (*taḍmīn*) in the *muwaššah* is a clear illustration for the artificial character of the genre, as opposed to the *xarja*, where enjambment is not used so frequently.

In the *xarja*-s, as in any form of direct speech, most performative speech acts are present. The *xarja*-s contain questions, requests, exclamations, orders or prohibitions. The style is predominantly imperative or exclamatory, in many cases in the form of a complaint. The syntactic structure of the most *xarja*-s is not too elaborate, although there are some exceptions. Most *xarja*-s have only one or two lines, which means that the syntactic structure cannot be too complicated. Most *xarja*-s are composed with one or two coordinated phrases (Ariza 1988:30), which contrasts with the rest of the poem where the most complicated techniques of syntactic and rhetorical embellishment are used (Arazi 1991:114-116).

9.2 *‘Ilm al-badī‘* and the Andalusian *xarja*-s

According to Ibn Xaldūn (Rosenthal 1967:III:401 ff), the discipline of rhetorical figures (*badī‘*) can be subdivided according to older and more recent literary critics, and Easterners and Westerners did not share the same technical terminology. The Easterners considered the rhetorical figures a part of rhetoric, but not something basic to speech, while the Westerners stated that rhetorical figures should not be considered part of rhetoric. "(Rhetorical figures) also occurred in pre-Islamic speech, but

9 Examples from (AQ: n°s 28, 37, 62, 63, 79 and 94) and (MS:n°s 3, 7, 48 and 59).

10 *‘Udda* (n°s 33, 62, 180, 208, 234 and 264).

spontaneously and unintentionally", according to Ibn Xaldūn (Rosenthal 1967:III:403). Ibn Xaldūn gives examples of natural speech, which is free from (contrived) technique and he emphasizes that natural poetry should be uncontrived in principle. However, poets added contrived techniques to increase its beauty. Ibn Xaldūn calls this 'embellishment' and 'brilliance'. Poets such as Baššār b. Burd, Abū Tammām and Ibn al-Muʿtazz cultivated this manneristic style and gave the rhetorical figures their definitive form, which is called *badīʿ*-style. In later literary criticism (13th century), the science of rhetoric is called *ʿilm al-balāġa*, which can be divided in three sciences or disciplines: *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (stylistical syntax), *ʿilm al-bayān* (tropoi and rhetorical figures, such as metaphors, simile and metonymia) and *ʿilm al-badīʿ* (rhetorical figures). In the following pages only figures from *ʿilm al-badīʿ* will be commented on. Some of them are relatively obscure or not so frequently used. The figures *tašbīh* (comparatio), *ištiʿāra* (metaphora) and *tamṭīl* (simile) are not discussed in this chapter since most have been dealt with in the chapter on thematic relationships (chapter 8).

This manneristic style from the East was imitated later in al-Andalus and incorporated in strophic poetry. In his chapter on the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*, Ibn Xaldūn recapitulates his views about contrived and uncontrived techniques, stating that the Easterners composed *muwaššahāt* or other genres of vernacular poetry in a more forced manner than the Westerners, who wrote more in a natural and smooth style. It is at least remarkable that skilled poets in the East, familiar with all prosodic and rhetorical techniques, were considered less proficient in composing Western poetry. The Eastern techniques of *badīʿ* enjoyed a great prestige in the West, but Eastern poets must not compete with Andalusian strophic poetry, according to Ibn Xaldūn. Many Westerners were celebrated in the East whereas Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk seems to be the only Easterner who was accepted and respected in the West.

All rhetorical figures from the *ʿilm al-badīʿ* can be found in the *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl*, and even in the *xarja*-s, and not only in the Arabic *xarja*-s, but also in the Hispano-Romance examples. Of course, many rhetorical figures are universal phenomena, such as repetition, opposition, hyperbole, etc. Using the canons of the Arabic *badīʿ*-style, we can describe in principle many phenomena used in other languages. However, some rhetorical figures have been particularly used by Arabic poets and described by Arabic literary theoreticians. The general idea of Ibn Xaldūn is that in the beginning poetry and prose were uncontrived. Later inventions made them more complicated and contrived. "Contrived, studied, or forced speech is inferior to natural speech, because it has little concern with what is basic to eloquence." (Rosenthal 1967:III:409).

The Arabic and Hebrew *waššāḥūn* from al-Andalus applied the innovating style from the East, called *ʿilm al-badīʿ*, in their compositions. Hebrew poets imitated directly from the East or indirectly from the Andalusian

poets. Mošeh b. ^cEzrā¹¹ is one of the first Hispano-Hebrew poets who wrote *badī'īyyāt* in his *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-l-muḍākara* (Abumalham Mas 1983; 1985 and 1986). In the following pages I shall examine which phenomena are used by the Andalusian *waššahūn*, intentionally or not.¹²

The term *tawšīḥ* itself is not only used for strophic poetry, but it is also a rhetorical term, which means 'embellishment'.¹³ The verb *waššaha* implies embellishment with rhyme and all forms of *badī'* or figures of speech (Abu Haidar 1992:65).

a Muṭābaqa

The juxtaposition of two opposite notions is called *muṭābaqa* (Gr. *antitheton*; Lat. *contentio, contrapositum*). This rhetorical figure is frequently used in *muwaššahāt*, between the *muwaššaha* and the *xarja*,¹⁴ and within the *xarja* itself. Some examples:

Al-Manīšī:

[kán alxalíl aljadíd, úmma,/ [ma] kán alqadím ḥállu/

"Fue el amigo nuevo, madre, no había sido el antiguo". (AQ:nº81)

Ibn al-^cArabī:

mállat wišáli,/ walmalíḥ malúl/
waman yišādaf/ ^cāšiqan wašúl?/

"Ella se cansó de mi compañía, que la beldad es inconstante: ¿Quién dará con un amante constante?". (AQ:nº88), or:

Nazhūn:

yatamannáni fa'id lam yaráni,/ yatamannáni,
fa'ida rání tawallá mú^criḍa,/ kánnu ma rání/

"Me desea, pues, cuando no me ha visto me desea, y cuando me ve, se vuelve apartándose, como si no me hubiera visto". (AQ:nº120), or:

^cUbāda al-Mālaqī (*'Udda* nº340):

ya jamál alḥabíb/ id atána yamší/

11 See Schippers (1994a:17-18).

12 The terminology of Arabic rhetoric is far from uniform. In the following paragraphs I consulted Mehren (1877), who followed the *Kitāb al-Badī'* of Ibn al-Mu^ctazz as one of his sources. Additional material comes from Wagner (1965). It falls beyond the scope of this study to differentiate between most connotations of technical terms in other sources.

13 See also Smart (1991) and Abu Haidar (1992:65).

14 In the section on code-switching in this chapter I shall discuss this in more detail. An example of the use of antithesis between the poem itself and the final section is found in Ibn Quzmān *zajal* nº 102 where we read "rúbbama darrak alkalám attawíl / áhna naqtá^c kalámi, jíd hu ba^cád" ("Tal vez no te gusten palabras largas / corto aquí mi discurso, ya está bien") (Corriente 1980:691, 1989:204).

wayiqá^c wayiqúm/ wayiqúl áš ǵa + šší/

“¿Qué hermosura la del amado, cuando vino andando, cayéndose y levantándose y diciendo: ¿Qué es esto?”.¹⁵ (Ad:26-27)

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAṭṭiyyāh (MS:n°86):

‘aššiqan fī šṭṭārī’ versus ‘hayí man fī kībārī

“Como un amante apasionado en mi juventud, como un desesperado en mi vejez”.

An example from a bilingual Arabic-Romance *xarja* is:

Ibn Quzmān:

...attawāni ^cáda/ baljadíd walbáli/

“...el remoloneo es costumbre en lo nuevo y lo antiguo”. (NPA:n°42)

All these example are oppositions between two notions in Arabic. There are also examples of *muṭābaqa* in Romance pairs of words:

enférmo versus *sanár* (NPA:n°8);
amár versus *polorár* (NPA:n°29);
morréy versus *sanaréy* (NPA:n°30);
máles versus *bón* (NPA:n°32);
béned versus *éšed* (NPH:n°3);
báy(d)se versus *tornarád* (NPH:n°9);
enférmo yéd versus *kand sanarád* (NPH:n°9);
sanés versus *enfermád* (NPH:n°10);
bibréyo versus *morréyo* (NPH:n°15);
ótri amés versus *a(d) míbe tú no(n) qéres* (NPH:n°17).¹⁶

b Muqābala

A subcategory of *muṭābaqa* is *muqābala*. This figure is the juxtaposition of two notions and the opposite notions in parallelistic construction (Wagner 1965:423):

Anónimo (‘*Udda* n°s 277 and 278):

qúm aḡtanám wišáli/ báydám aná ḥaríš
 sataštaríni ḡáli/ in bī^ctani raxíš/

“Apresúrate a disfrutar mi unión, mientras que yo la procuro, pues caro me

15 Other examples: The truth versus lies (IQ 36/8/3 alḥáqqi ma qál, waššubáy ma kaḡáb); Heaven and Earth (‘*Udda* n°153), etc.

16 Examples of *muṭābaqa* in bilingual pairs will be described in the following paragraph on code-switching.

comprarás, si me vendes barato”¹⁷ (Ad:27).

c Mubālaḡa

The rhetorical figure called *mubālaḡa* is used for hyperbole or exaggeration. A good example is the following *xarja*:

Ibn al-Šabbāḡ:

fi bāḡri dām^ci ni^cúm/ wafīh niqā^c wanihīm/
waḡa+ malīḡ ay yitīh/ lis náftaḡ+ alyáddi bīh/

“En el mar de mi llanto nado, en él caigo y yerro y, aunque este hermoso sea altivo, no he de soltarlo de mi mano.” (Ad:44)

d Tardīd

A poet uses the rhetoric device *tardīd* when he repeats the same word, idea or concept with the purpose of establishing a transition to a following line or notion (Wagner 1965:424). An example where *tardīd* is used is the following *xarja*:

Al-Abyad:

qad ḡadār ḡabībi+ wxallāni;/ līs nuṡī^c xalīl/
ya xalīli, āyn al’aymāni?/ alwafā qalīl/.

“Fue traidor mi amado y me dejó; no obedeceré a amigo. Amigo mío, ¿dónde están los juramentos? La lealtad es escasa”. (AQ:nº87)

e Hazl yurādu bihi l-jidd; al-hazl dū l-jidd

This figure is known as the equivalent of the Latin *figura per immutationem* and is used for texts where serious themes can be alternated by jest (Mehren 1853:124). Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk observed that this figure is used in the *muwaššaha* and its *xarja* (Rikābī 1977:29). Probably the poet Ibn Quzmān alluded to this rhetorical figure in his *zajal* n°35/10/1, where we find the phrase: *naḡúl ašma šīt min jīdd+ aw hazāl* (“De broma o de veras, digo a mi sabor”) (Corriente 1989:96). Abu Haidar described the use of the *xarja* as an element of *iḡmāḡ* or *hazl* in the context of the *muwaššah* which belongs to the serious (*jidd*) genres.

We must not exclude the possibility that many *xarja*-s are written in frivolous (*hazl*) style, but with the aim to reach serious (*jidd*) effects, such as satirical play or critique.

f Ittisā^c

The term *ittisā^c* is used for the phenomenon of ‘ambiguity’. Although the exact meaning of some words or expressions in some *xarja*-s escapes us, it

17 Cf. ^c*Udda* (n°315).

will be evident that many expressions can be interpreted literally or figuratively, making such texts ambiguous, as in the following Romance *xarja*:

Al-A^cmā (^c*Udda* n°311):

álba díya esta díya/ díya d+ al^cánšara háqqa/
bestiréy mew almudabbáj/ wanišúqq+ arrúmha šáqqa/

“Blanco día [es] este día, la Sanjuanada, en verdad: me pondré mi traje de brocado y bien quebraré la lanza.” (NPA:n°22)

According to Corriente, the lance is a metaphor for the male sex. Breaking the lance means the ‘female victory’ after sexual intercourse.

g Iğāl

The phenomenon *īğāl* is a subcategory of rhyme (^c*ilm al-qāfiya*). It is used in particular for the insertion of abundant rhyming words which add nothing to the meaning of the line. Its function is emphasis or intensification, for instance:

Ibn Quzmān (62/6/4-5):

jí, ’a^cmállī, ’áh!

“Ven, hazme ah.” (Corriente 1980:407; 1989:134)

h Taḍmīn

The technical terms *taḍmīn* and *iqtibās* are near-synonyms (Smart 1991:106). The figure *taḍmīn* however, includes different phenomena. It can be used for the phenomenon of quotation or insertion of another poem, usually from classical Arabic poetry (Mehren 1853: 138-40). The *xarja* belongs to the rhetorical figure *taḍmīn*, since it is usually a quotation at the end of the poem. The term *taḍmīn* is also used for the phenomenon of enjambment¹⁸, which is not common in the *xarja*-s, since normally the lines close with a syntactic pause. There are exceptions, as the following example demonstrates:

Anónimo (^c*Udda* n°64):

máwl alğizlân/ ḥabīb qálbi ya sussân/
aban ṭálḥa/ támmat wannabí+ lfárḥa/

“Señor de gacelas es el amado de mi corazón, Sussân b. Ṭálḥa: completa alegría, por el Profeta” (Ad:17). There is no syntactic pause within the two parts of the proper name *sussân* and *aban ṭalḥa*.

18 Enjambment (*taḍmīn*) has been considered one of the most characteristic features of the *muwaššah* (Arazi 1991:114)

In Arabic rhetoric two subcategories of *taḍmīn* are distinguished:

- *Istiʿāna* (enjambment between two lines);
- *rafw* or *īdāʿ* (enjambment between hemistichs or isolated words)

As Abu Haidar has demonstrated, the Andalusians employed enjambment between hemistichs and there are even cases where the poet separates the proclitic definite article *al-* from the noun to which it belongs. In one of his poems, Ibn Quzmān used an extreme form of enjambment within words in rhyming position.¹⁹ This type of rhyme and use of enjambment are good examples of ‘breaking rules for fun’.²⁰

i Tadyīl

The repetition of the same notion with different words, for instance by using synonyms is called *tadyīl*. Comparable rhetorical figures are *taʿkīd* (emphasis) and *takrār* (repetition). This phenomenon is often used in the Romance and bilingual *xarja*-s, in particular in those texts where a certain phrase is repeated in other words with the same meaning. Here is an example:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh:

aṣṣabāḥ bōno ġārre me d+ ón bénes/
ya lo se ke ótri amés/
a(d) míbe tú no(n) qéres/

“Buenos días, dime de dónde vienes: ya lo sé que a otro has amado, a mí no me quieres”. (NPH:nº17) The expression ‘a mí no me quieres’ can be considered as an example of *tadyīl* or *taʿkīd*. It does not add any important details and its function is to add emphasis.

j Tajnīs

Arabic treatises distinguish several categories of *tajnīs* and it falls beyond the scope of this study to treat all subcategories. Paronomasia was not only widespread among the Arabic poets; also Hebrew poets, such as Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫīyyāh, used this technique extensively (Schippers 1994a:20). I shall mention the most important cases of *tajnīs* in our *corpus*.

– Tajnīs lāḥiq

Tajnīs lāḥiq is the combination of two words with at least two equal consonants and one consonant is different. The variation of the consonant must occur between two consonants which do not share common phonological features. If consonants are alternated which share features of

19 García Gómez (1972:nº 191:858-861). The same phenomenon is recorded in the *Carmina Burana* and in the *Cantigas* of King Alfonso X, as García Gómez observed.

20 Critics do not agree in their evaluation of such use of enjambment (Van Gelder 1982:29).

articulation, *tajnīs* is called *tajnīs muḍārī*^c. I give an example of *tajnīs lāḥiq* from our *corpus*:

Ibn Xaldūn (“*Udda* n°135):

ana nawfī bibáydaqan.../ wanuṭīq naḥrazú/
 ármi máni^c wala tišaḡḡabni/ qábila an naḥrazú/

“Añadiré un peón... y podré conservarlo: Pon obstáculo, pero no me impedirás coronarlo”. (Ad:23)

The two words *naḥrazú* and *naḥrazú* form paronomasia. The subcategory is called *lāḥiq* because the *ḥā*’ and the *fā*’ are consonants without a common point of articulation.²¹

– Tajnīs al-ištiqāq

Etymological paronomasia is called *tajnīs al-ištiqāq*. It is used for combinations of different words from the same root in different derivations. An example of this category can be found in the *xarja* of poem n°181 of the “*Uddat al-jalīs* where the word *almalīḥ* rhymes with *almilāḥ*, which has the same root.²²

– Tajnīs mustawfā

Another subcategory of *tajnīs* is *tajnīs mustawfā* when a proper name is used in its literal meaning (Mehren 1853:155; Wagner 1965:433). The poet can mention the name of the person, but it is also possible to omit the name of the person in question, so his name is understood. In one Romance *xarja* we see an example of *tajnīs mustawfā*, if we assume that Corriente’s interpretation is correct:

Ibn Labbūn:

Ġarríd+ a(d)me/ kí mew sídi ya qáwmu/
 tará balláh/ summi+ lísmi badréllo/.

“Dicho se me ha quién es mi señor: señores, quizás, pardiez, se llame de nombre Badréllo”. (NPA:n°39).

The use of the word *badr*, which means ‘full moon’, carries the Romance diminutive suffix *-ello*. The full moon is a metaphor for the face of a lover, but here, it is also his proper name.

Another category is the equivalent of the phenomenon called homonymy. Exactly the same word is used with a different meaning. The second

21 Another example is (AQ:n°8) where *ḥabfību* forms paronomasia with *ḥasību*. Numerous examples can be added since *tajnīs* is used very often.

22 More examples could be added.

category is the combination of two words with at least two consonants and similar vowels are repeated (paronomasia; Lat. *annominatio*), or the combination of two words with exactly the same consonants and different vocalisation (*tajnīs muḥarraḥ*).²³ If the only distinction is based on diacritical points (*rasm*) this type of *tajnīs* is called *muṣaḥḥaf* (Wagner 1965:434). In the following *xarja* we see an example of homonymy. The same word is used with different meanings:

Al-Jazzār:

qubáyla falxáli,/ ya xáli/
faqála: fi fúmmi,/ ya °ámmi/

“Un beso en el lunar, tío! Dijo: «En mi boca, tío».” (AQ:n°94)
The word *xali* has two meanings: ‘birthmark’, ‘mole’, and ‘uncle’, ‘lad’.

The same device (homonymy; *tajnīs*) is used in a Romance *xarja*:

Y°hūdāḥ ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 89-91):

bén sídi béne/ el q+ credás tánto béne...

“Ven, mi señor ven, el que heredáis tanto bien...”. (NPH:n°1)

The first word *béne* is the imperative of the verb, while the second *béne* is an adverb.

An example of *tajnīs muṣaḥḥaf* is the following *xarja*:

Al-Manīšī:

qálbi min ḥadīd:/ fi kúlli yáwm ṣudúdan jadíd/

“Mi corazón es de hierro: cada día, un nuevo desdén” (AQ:n°31)

The rhyming words *ḥadīd* and *jadíd* form *tajnīs muṣaḥḥaf*, because two beginning consonants differ from each other in *rasm* (*j* and *ḥ*).²⁴

The following *xarja* is one of the more elaborated cases of *tajnīs*:

°Ubāda (°Udda n°309):

hijrán watih winḥiráf/ waxáḍla wistixfáf/ winkifáf/ winkisáf/
min alirjáf/

“abandono, presunción, desvío, chasco, desprecio, desdén y vergüenza del rumor”. (Ad:31-32)

23 For instance the *xarja* of °Udda n°259 where we read *áš kán* rhyming with *áš kánu* (Ad:42). A Romance parallel: *La mexor muxer, muxer* (Frenk 1987:n°1748B).

24 Other examples are the *xarja* of the anonymous poem (°Udda n°304) where *aljafá* rhymes with *xafá* (which means that *jīm* and *xā'* are alternated) and in AQ n°84 *falḥáli* rhymes with *xáli*. The graphemes *ḥā'* and *xā'* only differ in diacritical point.

k Radd al-^cajuz ^calà-l-šadr

This rhetorical figure (Lat. *reditio*) is the return at the end of a line to the beginning (Mehren 1853:161-164). In classical poetry this figure involves the ‘triggering’ or anticipation of a rhyming word (*qāfiya*) at another place of the line. A subcategory is called *tašdīr* where a certain word is repeated at the beginning of the second hemistich. The following are examples where we see the repetition of one or more words at the beginning of a line and at the end in rhyming position:

Ibn Xātima:

ḏáb nádri, man šál ^calíyya/ bišífár/ iḥwírák jufúru, ḏáb nádri.

“Ahora sé quién me venció con los filos de la blancura de sus párpados, ahora sé”. (AQ:nº51), or:

Nazhūn:

yatamannáni fa'id lam yaráni,/ yatamannáni,
fa'ida rání tawallá mú^criḏa,/ kánnu ma rání/

“Me desea, pues, cuando no me ha visto me desea, y cuando me ve, se vuelve apartándose, como si no me hubiera visto”. (AQ:nº120), or:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh (MS:nº52):

limatá biwáṣlak tirajjini/ jini ya ḥabibi fajúd jini/ wabít ^cindi/

“¿Hasta cuándo me prometerás tu unión? Venme, amado mío, y sé generoso, venme y duerme conmigo”. (CS), or:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh (MS:nº24):

aḡná ^can+ arrašá walbádri aḡná/
fahámna sírri múqlatu fahámna/

“Ha suplido a la gacelilla y al plenilunio ha suplido; hemos comprendido el secreto de su pupila, lo hemos comprendido”. (CS), or:

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh (MS:nº30):

báš yu^cmál ya qáwmi háḏa+ lkáyin báš
kám futtíš ^calíh walis nádri min+ áš

“¿De qué se hace, señores, este ser? ¿Cuánto se ha buscado, pero no sé de qué!”. (CS)

l Tasbīḡ

When the final word in rhyming position is repeated in the following line, this is called *tasbīḡ* (Gr. *anadiplosis*, Lat. *reduplicatio*). An example is the Romance *xarja*:

Y^chūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 149-150):

ḡárre s+ es dibína/ e(d) dibínas....

“Díme, si eres adivina, y adivinas....”. (NPH:nº2), or:

Al-A^cmā (‘Udda nº311):

álba díya esta díya/ díya d+ al^cánšara ḥáqqa...

“Blanco días [es] este día, [día de] la Sanjuanada, en verdad”. (NPA:nº22)²⁵

m Takrār, takrīr, takarrur

Takrār (*takrīr* or *takarrur*) is used for the device of repetition. According to the type or place of the recurring element, various subcategories are distinguished. Al-Šuštārī made extensive use of this figure in his *azjāl*. Isolated words, syntagmas, hemistichs, or entire lines are repeated, in particular in the prelude-estribillo (*maṭāli^c* or *incipits*).²⁶

– The repetition of the same word at the beginning of a line (*anaphora*):

Anonymous (‘Udda nº14):

ya állah ya állah.... (‘Oh Dios, Oh Dios’) (Ad:12), or:

Anonymous (‘Udda nº84):

ṣayyád ya ṣayyád (‘cazador, oh cazador’) (Ad:18).

Ibn Zuhr (‘Udda nº266):

jannán faya jannán... (‘jardinero, oh jardinero’) (Ad:43-4).

Anonymous (‘Udda nº90):

Ya vét+ en+ e(d) vét+ en/ wú ya tenrád...

“¡Vete ya y vete! ¡Cara ya tendrá!...”. (NPA:nº3)²⁷

Yōsēp al-Kātib:

tánt+ amáre tánt amáre/ ḥabīb tánt+ amáre...

“¡Tanto amar, tanto amar, amado, tanto amar!...”. (NPH:nº18)

Al-Šuštārī (Corriente 1988:nº3:38;212):

lilláhi, lilláhi, hámu arrijálu fi ḥúbb-l-ḥabīb;
alláhu, alláhu [hu] má^cı ḥaḍir, fi qálbi qarīb.

25 It must be commented that in classical poetry, this figure occurs between two lines. Since lines are split up in the *xarja*-s, the same phenomenon can occur between shorter entities, such as hemistichs. Fundamentally, this is the same device.

26 In many *azjāl*, only the first or second line of the *matla^c* is repeated after each *qufl*. Cf Corriente (1988 nº83) and Monroe (1974 nº34 308-309).

27 Also *xarja* nº5 (*amánu amánu*)

“Pardiez, pardiez, los hombres desatinaron por amor del Amado Dios, Dios está conmigo presente, próximo a mi corazón”, or:

Al-Šuštārī (Corriente 1988:n°47:84;248):

maṭbú^c, maṭbú^c, í, walláhi, maṭbú^c!
maṭbú^c, maṭbú^c, í, walláhi, maṭbú^c!

“Natural, natural, sí, pardiez, natural! (2X).”²⁸

- The repetition of a word at the end of the line (*epiphora*):

Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyāh (MS:n°31):

dār wa^callál... wanár multaḫíyya/
y+ áxi lis bá^cdi ḡa+ l^caḫíyya ^caḫíyya

“Casa, jarro y fuego encendido: hermano, no hay regalo tras este don.” (CS), or:

Anonymous (^cUdda n°183):

asmá^c lima tiqúlu/ ^caḫíyya+ addawáli/ šíl šíl/
la búdda min ḫabíbi yi^cúd ila+/ lwiḫáli/

“Oye lo que dice el ave en las parras: sé constante, sé constante; mi amado ha de volver a la unión conmigo”. (Ad:36):

- Two or more lines or hemistichs begin with the same word or group of words (*anaphora*).

This phenomenon is used frequently in the *marāḫī* in particular in formulaic expressions, such as complaints or exclamations. Frequently used expressions are for instance: *wa-man law kāna fī.../ wa-man law kāna fī....*, or: *rubba... rubba....*, etc. Since we know that many *xarja*-s are also complaints and exclamations, it does not surprise us that this stylistic device has been frequently recorded in the *xarja*-s. Some examples:

si me keréses ya nwémne bóno/
si me keréses/ darásme+ n úno/

“Si me quisieras, nombre bueno, si me quisieras, daríasme uno de ellos.” (NPH:n°23)

The same phenomenon is used in the following *xarja*:

Al-A^cmā:

28 Cf. the *muwaššaha* with the *xarja* “bús, bús, bús bi-fámmī” where the structure of the tripartite repetition at the beginning of the line is found in each *qufl* (MS:n°35). See also Zwartjes (1994e: 169-170) where I discuss a similar tripartite repetition in the *vuelitas* of a bilingual Latin-Flemish *zajal*-like poem from the oldest printed Flemish songbook.

wáš kan daháni,/ ya qáwmi, wáš kan baláni,
wáš kan da^cáni/ nabdál ḥabíbi biṭáni?/

“¿Qué me ocurrió, oh gente, qué me afectó? ¿Qué me movió a cambiar mi amado por otro?”. (AQ:nº117), or:

Anónimo (‘*Udda* nº63):

^cabdállah wájdī/ ^cabdállah yajnī ḍa+ lǧiráh
^cabdalláh hámmi/ law kinnaráh kinnastaráh/

“A. es mi pasión, A. es quien me hace estas heridas: A. es mi cuita: si lo viera, reposaría”. (Ad:16), or:

Anónimo (‘*Udda* nº234):

áš lak fi šáddi áš lak fi hijráni/ ḥubáyyabi/ lawnáni/

“¿Qué ganas desdeñándome y abandonándome, amorcito de olíbano?”. (Ad:41)

Madǧallīs (Al-‘*Aṭil* 208-9):

la sákra illá dun raqīb/
wala nadím illá ḥabíb/
wala malíḥ illá rabīb/ aššawḍarí/

“No hay ebriedad sino sin celador,/ ni compañero que no sea amado,/ ni hermoso, sino Rabīb, el de Jódar”. (Corriente 1994:68)

Anonymous:

durí ḥadīṭi waqad šá^c xabarí;/
durí waqad kán, wáš ^calíyya, in kan durí?/

“Mi historia es sabida, se ha divulgado mi caso; es sabido, ya ha ocurrido, y ¿qué me importa, si se ha sabido?”. (AQ:nº42)

n Iṭā’ (al-murakkab)

The use of the same word in rhyming position is called *īṭā’*. According to some theoreticians, *īṭā’* is permitted only after seven lines, and therefore the use of *īṭā’* within the limits of seven lines is considered bad poetry.²⁹ This figure is permitted when *tajnīs* is used (homonyms) but it must be rejected when the same words are used without different meaning (Wagner 1965: 222). An example of *īṭā’* can be found in the following *xarja*:

Anonymous (‘*Udda* nº224):

kí tálla(d)me ma álma/ kí kár[pe](d)me ma álma/.

29 The same rhyming word is used by Ibn Quzmān in *zajal* 9 strophe 14/4 and strophe 28/4, which means that the interval between these words is more than seven lines

“¿Quién me corta mi alma, quién me desgarrá mi alma?”. (NPA:nº16), or:

Ibn Ruḥaym (*Jayš* section 13, poem 8):

ké faréyo o ké serád de míbe/ ḥabíbi/
non te tólgas de míbe/

“¿Qué puedo hacer o qué será de mí? Mi amado, no te quites de mi lado.”
(NPA:nº40; CS:nº16)

o Tawjīh

Tawjīh is normally translated as ‘ambiguity’ (Mehren 1853:123). Helen Boreland (1977) and Monroe (1987-1988:20) focused on the ambiguous character of some *xarja*-s and here I shall consider a special sort of ambiguity which has, as far as I know, not been studied before. I am referring to the rhetorical device called *tawjīh*. The term is used for the phenomenon of ambiguity of technical, grammatical, poetical or rhetorical terms, which are used in their literal meaning.

A possible example is the use of the word *ṭarīq* in the last strophe of *zajal* nº46 of Ibn Quzmān, where we read the following lines:

Ibn Quzmān (46/6/1):

darrát alxarját/ ʿala kúlli ṭarīq.

“Fluyen las *xarjas* por todo el camino”. (Corriente 1989:115).

The word *ṭarīq* is ambiguous since it means both ‘way’, ‘road’, as well as ‘musical mode’.³⁰

Other possible cases of *tawjīh* are, firstly, the use of derivations of the root *x r j* in the *xarja* itself, which occurs frequently:

Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I: 91-2; Almladh 1992-93:20):

xārijun ila-l-ʿudwah.³¹

Ibn Quzmān (98/5/4-5) and Anonymous (ʿUdda nº228):

qad xaraj mahḥubi barrá/ wamaḍá walam yijína
waniríd walis najjará/ wanixáf šāhḥ+ almadína/

“Mi amado ha salido, y se ha ido sin vernos, y yo quiero y no me atrevo, porque temo al zalmedina”. (Ad:42)

30 Possibly the same ambiguity is found in the *xarja* of *zajal* nº42/5/5: “in xifta wáḥš aṭṭarīq./ anzúr li ʿayniyya.” (“si temes la fatiga del camino, mira mis ojos”). Maybe the poet wanted to say: If you are afraid of the musical mode [of this song], look in my eyes”(?).

31 Cf. the first line of the final strophe of a *zajal* of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Abī Naṣr al-Dabbāḡ (*Al-Muḡrib* 1/440-1; Corriente 1994:96).

A second example is the final line of *zajal* n°26 of the famous mystic from Granada:

Al-Šuštārī:

axrúj °an+alkawnáyn, tará+ lqamár

“Sal de esos mundos, verás la luna.” (Corriente 1988: 62;231), or:

Ibn al-Labbāna:

állā zának, ya+ lasmár,/ záyn kúlli °askár:
qad xarájta, ya šáṭir,/ falḥārbi záfir/.

“Dios te ha dado, moreno, el adorno de cualquier tropa: has salido, ¡qué hábil!, victorioso en el combate”. (AQ:n°39)

In these examples the literal meaning is used (the departure, separation), but since the word is used in the *xarja* of the poem, which is also an ‘exit’, it may be an example of *tawjīh*.

Likewise, the use of the enigmatic *xarja doš °amaláyn* of Ibn Quzmān (*zajal* n°59) may constitute *tawjīh*. The word °amal means ‘function’, but it is also a technical term, related to *istihlāl* (Zwartjes 1991; Bencherifa 1994:19). The *xarja* can have two functions (the beginning and the end) and/or can have two sections called °amal, which is a sort of interlude.

p Al-murāja°a

Al-murāja°a is the introduction of the voice of the poet himself, in dialogue with one of the protagonists. According to the theoreticians this figure was not very much appreciated (Mehren 1853:130). The use of dialogue is characteristic of strophic poetry, in particular the *azjāl*. In the *muwaššahāt* dialogues occur, but only less elaborated ones. Most *xarja*-s are monologues, but there are examples where dialogue is used between the preceding strophe and the *xarja* or even within one *xarja*. Such cases are examples of *murāja°a*. Dialogues can be expressed in direct speech, alternating questions, exclamations and answers, or in indirect speech by the poet, using introductory *verba dicendi*, such as ‘I said:’, ‘he said:’, etc.

An example of a dialogue in direct speech is the following *xarja*:

yámmi ké qáwl ayyúb/ °áql annisá qáqqa...

“Madre, ¿qué es lo que dice Job? «El juicio de las mujeres es porque-ría...».” (NPH:n°21).

Here we see an invocation to the mother (*yámmi*), and a question, followed by an answer to this question. The poet did not feel the need to add introductory verbs, such as ‘I say...’, or ‘Job says...’, or ‘mother says that Job says...’. In the following example we see such verbs:

Anonymous (°Udda n°337):

áš kúnta múrri tiqúlli táyib/ faqúltu ma^edúda hi+ lku'ús...

“¿Qué amargo fuiste! me dices arrepentido; yo digo: Contadas son las copas...”. (Ad:25).³²

9.3 Conclusion

For Dámaso Alonso and Menéndez Pidal, the Romance *xarja*-s are a reflection of primitive Castilian popular lyricism. It is evident that some Romance *xarja*-s have striking parallels with later popular poetry. We give here only a few examples of such parallels:

si me keréses ya nwémne bóno/
si me keréses/ darásme + n úno/

“Si me quisieras, nombre bueno, si me quisieras, daríasme uno de ellos.” (NPH:n^o23), and:

Si vos quisiésedes
señora mía,
si vos quisiésedes
yo bien querría. (Frenk 1987:n^o1697)

Or compare the following texts:

Yōsēp al-Kātib:

tánt+ amáre tánt amáre/ ḥabīb tánt+ amáre...(NPH:n^o18) and:

¡Tanto mal, tanto mal, tanto mal
como ay en el mal!... (Frenk: n^o6016A), or:

bén sídi béne..., (NPH:n^o1) and:

vente a mí, zagaleja, vente. (Frenk 1987:1674B)³³

The resemblance will be clear, although we know that almost five centuries have passed between these Andalusian and Castilian examples. Clarke stated (1978:46) that “the form of these *aras* may be less popular than stylized popular or simply learned”. We must distinguish clearly between popular and courtly *xarja*-s. Many *xarja*-s are reflections of popular themes, but we have also seen the use of classical Arabic in the *xarja*-s, which is not popular or popularizing. Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk rejects the use of colloquialism in panegyric *xarja*-s. In practice, the *xarja*-s in classical

32 Other examples of the use of dialogue within a *xarja* are: (^c*Udda* n^{os} 170, 262, 340 and 347).

33 For more parallels see García Gómez (1965: *passim*).

Arabic are in most cases artificial, and not popular.³⁴ Most *xarja*-s were written in poetic diction combining classical and colloquial Arabic or Romance elements in varying proportions. Only a few *xarja*-s share all features of 'genuine folk poetry'.

In the preceding pages I have demonstrated that the system of Arabic rhetoric is an adequate model for the description of the rhetorical devices which occur in the *xarja*-s. Of course, as I said at the beginning of this chapter, the Greco-Latin model is also an adequate model, since both models share many universal phenomena. When we describe the Andalusian *xarja*-s, we must start with the Arabic model, even when we describe the Romance or bilingual texts. They have been written by Andalusian poets, in most cases well educated and frequently also composers of classical poetry, who applied the techniques with which they were familiar. If we compare the figure of *tajnīs*, the Arabic model is much more adequate than the Greco-Latin model for the use of paronomasia. Both *tajnīs* and paronomasia share common features, but the use of *tajnīs* is closely related to the idiosyncrasies of the Arabic language and literary history. The techniques of paronomasia in the poetry of Góngora for instance, one of the most 'manneristic' poets of the Golden Age, show less variations compared to *tajnīs* in Arabic poetry.³⁵

9.4 Code-switching in the Andalusian *xarja*-s as a rhetorical device

In studies of the last decades on code-switching, the presumed universality of the system which rules code-switching has become the object of sharp criticism, in particular the constraints. Gumperz studied code-switching in three pairs of languages, Spanish-English, Hindu-English and Slovene-German. One of his purposes was the attempt to describe and define the underlying universal restrictions (Gumperz 1976:35) which rule the switches. Monroe's article (1983) is also based on this presumed universal validity of the degree of acceptability of alternated speech. One problem in earlier investigations is that combinations of two indo-European languages have been studied; in particular Spanish and English.³⁶ In the last decade, a series of studies have been published with new results on combinations of more diverging languages, such as the studies of Berk-Seligson

34 One example is the use of the prefix *sa-* or *sawfa* for the future tense, which according to al-Hilli is not permitted in the *zajal*. This prefix has been recorded in the *xarja*-s n^{os} 95 and 13 (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977).

35 See Alonso (1970).

36 In particular chicano or puertorriqueño and American English: Gumperz & Hernández Chávez (1969); Lance (1969); Timm (1975); Valdés-Fallis (1976); Pfaff (1979); Wald (1987).

(1986) (Spanish-Hebrew), Bentahila and Davies (French and Arabic) (1983; 1991), Nortier (1989) (Dutch and Moroccan Arabic) and Heath (1989) (French and Arabic). Since some *xarja*-s are written in a hybrid language with an Indo-European and a Semitic component, it seems to me reasonable to use those studies which studied such combinations. As we shall see, various violations of constraints have been recorded (Bentahila y Davies 1983:301). We must always bear in mind that poetry is not the same as natural speech, because a poet can use poetical licences. However, I came to the conclusion that the aims of the poets to use bilingual constituents do not differ essentially from natural speech. Poets and natural speakers share many techniques and in many cases they reflect the same devices, particularly when comic effects are involved.

I quote the definition of Poplack (1991:5): “*Code-switching* is the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance. Code-switching may occur at various levels of linguistic structure (e.g. inter-sentential, intra-sentential, extra-sentential) and it may be *flagged* or *smooth*.” In this chapter other features of languages in contact will be excluded, such as transference, interference, calques, relexification, while others, such as cross language punning and other forms of comic use of bilingualism will be discussed, as far as they will be relevant for *xarja*-studies.³⁷

In view of the modest size of the *corpus* and the problematic character of some texts, the results of this chapter are of minor relevance for the study of code-switching in natural speech.

The following facts should be taken into account:

- *Xarja*-s are invented phrases. The language of the poets allows more licences or violations than natural speech.³⁸
- The impossibility of verifying the degree of acceptability of bilingual expressions, since there are no native speakers.
- We are not always able to establish which language is the *matrix*-language and which is the embedded language. We cannot always determine which language is the ‘guest language’ and which is not. Ferguson’s opinion, which implies that “it is always clear which language is the dominant language in such mixed speech”, has been criticized by Hatch (1976).

37 Regina Keil (1986:106) studied the comic effect of code-switching in a combination of French and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Tunisian Arabic.

38 See Jones (1988:11).

In (9.4.1) I shall describe where switches occur in the *xarja*-s and in (9.4.2) I shall attempt to describe why switching occurs (function and stylistic effects). I shall not discuss constraints of code-switching and their violations in the *xarja*-s, for which I refer to Zwartjes (1994c).

9.4.1 Description of code-switching in the *xarja*-s

In the following paragraphs, I do not intend to describe all possible types of code-switching in the *xarja*-s. We only focus on some interesting peculiarities. I shall demonstrate first where switches occur.

9.4.1.1 Inter-sentential code-switching

The *xarja* is normally written in colloquial Arabic, but when the *xarja* is panegyric (dedicated to a *mamdūh*), inflected classical Arabic is used. In such poems there is no code-switching at all. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk sees the *xarja* as a switch between two different sentences. The *xarja* itself can be monolingual or bilingual. Switches can be registered between *muwaššah* and *xarja* and also between two different lines within the *xarja* and even between and within words and this can occur once, twice or sometimes various times within one *xarja*.

In many Andalusian strophic poems, more frequently in Hispano-Hebrew than in Hispano-Arabic *muwaššahāt*, we find specific references to ethnicity and the language used in the *xarja*. In one *muwaššaha*³⁹ the poet writes in the lines of the introductory section (*tamhīd*):

“Like a gazelle doth sing *in Edomite song*
(and the *xarja* in Romance follows).

Edom refers here to Christianity. In another *tamhīd* from a Hebrew *muwaššaha* which introduces an Arabic *xarja* we read:

“I shall honey my song to mine enemy in Arabic:
...a maiden who spoke to him in the tongue of the Ishmaelites.”⁴⁰
(and the *xarja* follows).

An example from an Hispano-Arabic *muwaššaha* with a Romance *xarja*:

“Many a maiden possessed of resplendent beauty spoke out
in non-Arabic diction”.⁴¹

In the anthology *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* (Monroe 1974:284) we find a *muwaššaha* attributed to Ibn Bājjā where we read in the introductory lines:

39 Rosen-Moked (1991:284).

40 Rosen Moked (1991:284).

41 “‘Wa-fatātin dāti ḥusnin bahiyyi/ a‘rabat ‘an manṭiqin a‘jamiyyi....” (Jones 1988:285).

“Whenever he appears, his face veiled/ Like the crescent moon covered by clouds/ While a banner flutters above his head,/ *Arabs and non-Arabs sing about him*”: (and the *xarja* follows).⁴²

As Hitchcock demonstrated (1991b:173), two *muwaššahāt* by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk in the anthology of al-Šafadī have a *xarja* in Persian and Turkish. The *tamhīd* of these *xarja*-s contains the word *turkī* and *bi-l-fārisī*. The place of the switches is always situated between the *tamhīd* and the *xarja*. Within one *xarja* inter-sentential code-switching can occur between two (monolingual) sentences:

Y^ehūdāh ha-Lēbī (Brody I:171-2):

/ya rābbi kóm bibréyo/ kon éste alxaláq/
ya min qábl+ an yisallám/ yihaddád balfiráq/

“Dios mío. ¿Cómo viviré con este palomo ladrón? Ya antes de saludar amenaza con separarse”. (NPH:n°6)⁴³

In this *xarja*, a Romance sentence, not taking into account the invocation in Arabic *ya rābbi*, and a monolingual Arabic sentence have been combined. Of course, this bilingual *xarja* is preceded by a *tamhīd* in Hebrew.

9.4.1.2 Intra-sentential code-switching

A. Switches between two coordinated Noun Phrases

...d+ alwaḥša e(d) máys enfermád (...de nostalgia y más enfermád" NPH:n°10). The copula is in Romance (*e*[d]);

non te matrét illá kon+ aššárṭi/ an.... (“No te mataré sino con la condición de que....”; NPA:n°9);

non kéro ya un xaléllo/ illá assamréllo (NPA:n°13);

bestirét mew almudabbaj/ wanišúqq+ arrúmḥa šaqqa (NPA:n°22).⁴⁴ (Copula is in Arabic (*wa-*).

B. Switches between principal clause and subordinate clause

báydas+ ad+ išbílya/ fi záyyi tájir/ qe bará'a+ m ġánnes/ d+ aban muhájir “Idos a Sevilla en traje de mercader, a lograrme albarán (o carta) de I.M.” (NPH:n°13); The principal clause is in Romance, except for the prepositional phrase, which is in Arabic. The switch takes places after the Romance word *que* which introduces the subordinate clause.

42 “Ġannat l-ʿurbu fīhi wa-l-ʿajam” and the *xarja* follows: “May God raise the standard of victory for Abū Bakr, the prince of excellence”.

43 The Arabic word *alxaláq* can be considered the ‘trigger’. The introduction of this word produces the switch, as is known in other *corpora* of alternating languages.

44 It is difficult to ascertain where the switch occurs. It is probable that *almudabbáj* was also a loan word in the Romance dialects (as happens with many items for cloths, indumentaria, etc.) so the switch begins with the Arabic copula *wa-*.

C. Switches between Subject and Verb (SV)

tan mál me dóled l+ alḥabíb (NP Rom. + Subj Ar.; NPH:n°9).
miskína yed (“pobre es”; N Ar. + V Rom.; NPH:n°12).

D. Switches between Noun Phrase and Direct Object

wú ya tenrád (DO [Andalusian] Ar. + Adv. Rom+ V Rom.) (NPA:n°3);
no(m)+ me kéred ġarríre/ kílma (V Rom. + DO Ar.; NPA:n°15);
bestiréy mew almudabbáj (V Rom. + Pos. Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°22);
alwáhša me+ n farás (“nostalgia con ello me causará”; DO Ar. NP; NPA:n°25);
vu míra samája (NP Rom. + DO Ar.; NPA:n°33);
non kéred alḥulí (NP Rom. + DO Ar.; NPH:n°11);
ki poṭrád lebáre algáyba (NP Rom. + DO Ar.; NPH:n°20).

E. Switches between Noun Phrase and Prepositional Phrase (NP-PP)

kanniqarrád en+ éso (“que me encojo en eso”; V Ar. + PP Rom.; NPA:n°23a/b; NPH:n°8);
liwéska te+ n+ irás (“a Huesca te irás”; Prep Ar. + N + NP; NPA:n°25);
vén(t)e ʿind+... (NP Rom. + PP Ar.; NPA:n°33);
qerbád bos d+ alwáhša (NP Rom. + Prep Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPH:n°10).

F. Switches within a Noun Phrase

F.1. Noun + Noun

wélyos de alʿášiqa (N Rom. + Prep Rom. + N Ar.; NPA:n°2);
bokélla de ḥább+ almulúk (N Rom. + Prep Rom. + N Ar.; NPA:n°11);
díya d+ alʿánšara (N Rom. + Prep Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°22);
bokéllat+ alʿíqde (N Rom with Arabic *t-marbūṭa* + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°36).

F.2. Article + Noun

In many cases the form of the invariable Arabic article coincides with the Romance definite article (masculine; singular). Consequently, we are unable to determine the language of the article in such cases. In the following example we have undoubtedly the Arabic article since it determines a Romance Noun in feminine plural: allánas (NPA:n°26).

F.3. Adjective + Noun; Noun + Adjective

mátre arrahíma (N Rom. + Article and Adj Ar.; NPA:n°19);
bokélla ḥámra (N Rom. + Adj Ar.; NPA:n°20);
bokélla ḥúlwa (N Rom. + Adj Ar.; NPA:n°24);
allázmas aqúṭas (N Ar. + Adj Rom.; NPA:n°26);
bóna+ lbišára (Adj Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPH:n°3);
aṣṣabáḥ bóno (Article + N Ar. + Adj Rom.; NPH:n°17).

F.4. Possessive + Noun

mew sídi (Pos. Rom. + N. Ar.) (NPA:n°1 and NPA:n°39; NPH:n°11);
 mew alḥabíbe (Pos. Rom + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°21a/b);
 mew almudabbáj (Pos. Rom + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°22);
 sew arraḡíbe (Pos. Rom + Article and N Ar.; NPA:28);
 mew ḥabíb+ iṣḥáq (Pos. Rom + N Ar.; NPH:n°2);
 ta xáfqa (Pos. Rom. + N Ar.; NPH:n°25).

F.5. Demonstrative + Noun

est+ arraḡí^c/ est+ alḥarakí (Dem Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°10);
 est+ alḡulám (Dem Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°38a/b);
 est+ azzaméne (Dem Rom. + Article and N Ar. + paragoric -e Rom;
 NPH:n°1);
 est+ alxalláq (Dem Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPH:n°6);
 est+ alḥabíb (Dem Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPH:n°15).

G. Switches within a Prepositional Phrase

kon+ aššárṭi (Prep Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°9);
 so+ ljumélla (Prep Rom. + Article + N Ar.; NPA:n°14);
 d+ aḡḡámmas; kon+ aššámas; kom+ allázmas (Prep Rom. + Article + N
 Ar.; NPA:n°26);
 d+ alwá^cdi; d+ alḥujáj (Prep Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPA:n°31);
 en wád alḥájara (Prep Rom. + N Ar.; NPH:n°3);⁴⁵
 sin alḥabíb (Prep Rom. + Article and N Ar.; NPH:n°4).

H. Switches of an Adverb

álbo qad mew fogóre (Adv. Ar.);
 béyja(d)me qáhra (“bésame a la fuerza”; NPA:n°10);
 casí sanaréy (NPA:n°30);
 bibátši a(d)órmas (“pronto duermas”; NPH:n°7).

I. Switches of the Negation

la kerés muṭáre (Neg Ar. + NP Rom.; NPA:n°42);
 cáql annisá qáqqa non tábta+... (NP Ar. + Neg Rom. + NP Ar.;
 NPH:n°21).

J. Hybrid forms

liqárte (Ar. *maṣḍar* /*liqá*/ + proclitic pronoun Rom (NPA:n°1);
 xasréya (V Ar. + First Person Sing Rom.; NPH:n°5);⁴⁶
 xaléllo; assamréllo (N Ar. + Diminutive Rom.) (NPA:n°13);
 jumélla šaqrélla; bokélla ḥamrélla (N Ar. + Adj Ar. + Diminutive Rom)

45 Such a toponym is not strictly Arabic, since it is also attested in Romance (Guadalajara).
 Cf. báydas+ ad+ iṣbilya (NPH:n°13).

46 Cf. IQ 76/7/4: *iṣḡéya*. For these hybrid forms, see Corriente (1993:28:n.11).

(NPA:n°14);
 badréllo (N Ar. + Diminutive Rom.; NPA:n°39);
 sidéllo (N Ar. + Diminutive Rom.; NPH:n°3);
 jídos (Adj [Andalusian] Ar. + Romance Plural/Masculine).

9.4.1.3 Extra-sentential code-switching (tag switches)

Tag switches are switches which occur in the so-called tag-phrases, which are independent phrases without any prepositional or subordinate link with the rest of the phrase. Exclamations, such as “ya mamma” (*passim*), “ya qawmu” (=‘Oh people;’) y “ḥaqqā” (=‘in reality’) are frequently used for this purpose. Examples from our *corpus* are:

tu qerés/ balláhi mattáre (NPA:n°5);
 balláhi ké faréy (NPA:n°27);
 ké faréyo yámmi (NPA:n°6);
 si sabés ya sídi kí... (NPA:n°20);
 e(d) dibínas balḥáq/ ġárme... (NPH:n°2);
 ke serád de mîbe/ ḥabíbi (NPH:n°16; NPH:n°18);
 kon ta(n) bél foğór/ láytani non l+ amáse (“con tan hermoso ardor: ¡ojalá no lo amase!”; NPH:n°22).

9.4.2 Stylistic effects of code-switching

Although the Andalusian poets pursued some stylistical effects which normally are not used in natural speech, we can see that both types of language share many features. Of course poetry is governed by rules, such as prosody and rhyme, which are not needed in natural speech. Some switches can be explained by the requisites of rhyme, for instance. The poet had to choose rhyming words of the *xarja* which needed to rhyme with all the other *aqfāl*, which is why some Romance *xarja*-s have an Arabic rhyming word at the end of the line. Such switches from Romance to Arabic at the end are determined by rhyme rules and have nothing to do with natural speech. Nevertheless, I shall attempt to demonstrate instances of code-switching which come very close to or are identical with those from natural speech.

9.4.2.1 The comic effect of code-switching

It has been stated that the language of the bilingual *xarja* is “deliberately contrived unnatural mixing, used invariably in every instance for comic effect” (Whinnom 1982:15). Timm mentioned the use of code-switching as a stylistic or rhetorical device and he stressed the fact that bilinguals employed switched language “as a highly effective rhetorical or stylistic device”. It is used for quotations or for emphasizing what was just said (by *repeating* a phrase or clause in the other language), or to make a parenthetic, often witty, aside; to mimic someone, or to depict aspects of life which are the subject of humorous and/or satirical commentary. (Timm 1975:475).⁴⁷

9.4.2.2 Reiteration in another language for emphasis

As Gorton commented, talking about the *azjāl* of Ibn Quzmān, “the Romance words and expressions scattered through the *Dīwān* are not basic to the meaning”. They are, as García Gómez has shown (1972:III:349-360), a sort of gloss or paraphrase of meanings already conveyed in the Arabic. In the *xarja*-s, we find the same. The text of the *xarja* often reproduces some elements from the preceding lines. The first example is from Y^ehūdāh ha-Lēbī (Stern, n°9a):

“...le jour où lui a dit: ton amant est malade, elle s'exclama d'une voix amère”:

/báy(d)se mew qorazón de mīb/ ya ráb si se me tornarád/
tan mál me dóled l+ alḥabīb/ enférmo yéd kand sanarád/

“Se me va el corazón, Dios mío, ¿si me volverá? Tan mal me hace sufrir el amado! Está enfermo: ¿cuándo sanará?”. (NPH:n°9)

The second example is from the poet Ṭodrōs Abū l-^cAḫīyyāh (Stern n°9b):

“Mon coeur est malade et vole vers lui comme une hirondelle;
je m'écrie dans la langue des Chrétiens”: (and the same *xarja*
NPH:n°9 follows).

Another example is Stern n°11:

“Tu as toute la beauté; quel besoin as-tu donc de colliers? Ils
empêchent seulement d'embrasser ton cou et de le couvrir de
baisers....”

/peñór tenéd al'íqde yá+ mma ...

“Como prenda tenedme el collar, madre...”. (NPH:n°11)

Analogous examples are:

n°14:⁴⁸ porte/ mère ⇔ mamma/yana;

n°17: [Elle sait que le coeur de celui-ci en] aime une autre ⇔ ya lo se
ke ótri amés”;

n°25: espion ⇔ al-raqīb;

47 Probably such mixing up of languages was used by the poets in order to diminish the distance between poet or singer and listener or reader. The use of code-switching for stylistic purposes is not very different from natural speech (See Hatch 1976 208-9). All the devices mentioned by Hatch, which are used for emotive purposes can be found in the *muwaššahāt* with Romance or bilingual *xarja*-s, although it is difficult to say exactly which *xarja*-s have been written for comic or satirical effects, many have a very serious or even sad content. The deliberate use of unusual switches could have contributed to a comic effect, even when the song is serious.

48 Numbers according to Stern.

n°36: sans sommeil ⇔ non dormiréyo;
aube ⇔ a(d) ráyo de mañana. (NPA:n°17)

In the *xarja* (NPA:n°33) we see the intra-sentential reiteration of the same word in two different languages: *vén(t)e 'ind+ a(d)míbi* ("Vente conmigo") and in the following line *amší adunúni* ("venga, acércateme").

9.4.2.3 Opposition

As I have demonstrated earlier in the paragraph about *muṭābaqa*, oppositions are frequently used in (monolingual) Arabic *xarja*-s or between two notions in Romance. There is also an example of opposition while two language are used, so code-switching can apparently have such a function. The first word is expressed in Arabic (*ámší*) and the opposite is expressed in Romance (*veníre*) (NPA:n°37).

9.4.2.4 Emphasizing the unexpected

The fact that code-switching in natural speech is often used for emphasizing the unexpected was mentioned almost eight centuries ago by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk when he described the function of the *xarja* within the *muwaššah*. The unexpected switch is one of the prescriptions of his *poetica*.⁴⁹ Examples need not be given, since every *xarja* must be written for achieving this unexpectedness through the use of another register or language within the poem.

9.4.2.5 Parenthesis

As we have seen earlier, code-switching occurs frequently at the boundaries of syntactic pauses. Within a Romance sentence, tag-phrases or parentheses, such as *billáhi*, *háqqa*, are frequently expressed in Arabic.

9.4.2.6 Quotations

The quotational or semi-quotational nature of the *xarja*, which must be introduced by *verba dicendi*, has been treated sufficiently in earlier chapters. The use of another language in such a quotation adds a new dimension to such poetry and contributes to the vivacity and the pseudo-veracity of the quoted utterances.

49 See: García Gómez (1962:48).

9.5 Conclusion

The Arabic theory of stylistic features, '*ilm al-badī'*', is an adequate system for describing the literary techniques used in the *xarja*-s, and even the Romance *xarja*-s are not an exception. The Andalusian poets used their education and inserted colloquial Arabic and non-Arabic speech and rebuilt and remoulded these utterances, in order to show their skills and their knowledge of these techniques. They did not quote any "early primitive lyric", but imitated Romance utterances in order to adapt them according to their literary system. At least some *xarja*-s resemble Romance parallels from later centuries.

The bilingual *xarja*-s with 'unusual' switching patterns can be explained in different ways. Although many texts are apparently not comic in content, the use of such contrived mixing can distort the original tenor and render such texts comic. These unusual switches in some *xarja*-s were probably composed or invented with a special purpose. Either the poet was not able to write correct Romance -he was maybe a monolingual Arabic speaking individual-, or possibly the Romance of the singing girl was corrupt, if we assume that the process of arabization had been almost completed in this period. In that case, the poet reproduced the texts of songs of a singing girl who had a limited knowledge of Romance. Such utterances, comparable to 'foreigner talk' (Appel & Muysken 1987:139) were probably meant for comic effects and they could indeed have added color to the speech. This agrees with the description of Hatch (1976) and Timm (1975) and even with that of Ibn Sanā' al Mulk (1212).

10 Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, I have examined Andalusian strophic poetry in general and the *xarja* in particular. Let us return now to the central issue of whether the Romance and/or the bilingual *xarja*-s are representations of poetry 'at the crossroads of two systems'. I shall attempt to answer the following question: Are these *xarja*-s invented texts by Andalusian poets who wrote according to the Arabic system, or did these poets reproduce or imitate *primitiva lírica temprana* (Alonso 1949) or *muestras balbucientes de la arcaica lírica hispana* (Corominas 1953:141).¹

Structure

Although Romance *zajal*-like poems are found in all regions of Europe, this is not *a priori* proof of the fact that Andalusians were inspired by such non-Arabic Iberian substrate, nor that poets from Occitania were inspired by Andalusian poetry. If Occitanian poets were influenced by the Andalusians, they probably borrowed the *zajal*-form. The fact that the *musammaṭ* and the *zajal*-type is found much more frequently than the *muwaššah*-type indicates that, if influence existed, *azjāl* existed much earlier than the extant manuscripts demonstrate, but we do not have any direct evidence for this assumption. The *tasmīṭ*-theory, which explains the origins of the *muwaššah* as a direct evolution from the *qaṣīda simṭiyya*, is better documented. A serious problem is that very few *musammaṭāt* have been handed down which are earlier than the oldest *muwaššahāt*. The fact that Hebrew poets already used the *musammaṭ*-form frequently in the 10th century makes the existence of Arabic parallels likely. The *muwaššah* was recorded first, because these texts were more prestigious than the *zajal*, since they are written in classical Arabic. This does not explain why there are so few surviving *musammaṭāt* from this early period, since these poems were also written in classical Arabic.

The *xarja* as the final unit of the *muwaššah* has many parallels in later Romance lyricism. The *finida* and other similar units share some features of the *xarja*, but the exact analogous form of the *xarja* is non-existent. Romance literary tradition does not have an exact analogous form of the *muwaššah* with its *xarja*, which allows us to consider this form as culture-specific.

1 After this thesis was completed, I was informed that Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes has published a study, called *Las jarchas. Forma y significado* (Barcelona, 1994). Unfortunately, I could not incorporate the results of this study in my thesis.

Prosody and rhyme

Quantitative patterns form the basis of all Arabic *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl*, although not all of these patterns are pure Xalilian metres. Isosyllabism does not mean that Romance versification is involved; anisosyllabism does not mean that the Arabic system is used. Romance poetry can be anisosyllabic and the Arabic system can be isosyllabic. As long as *‘arūd* patterns can be found in the Romance, or partly Romance *xarja*-s, this system apparently predominates, since *‘arūd*-patterns are compatible with the Romance system, whereas Romance poetry is not always explained by *‘arūd*-patterns.² The fact that *‘arūd*-patterns are used even in the Romance texts implies that these texts are either new creations by the Andalusian poets, or adaptations of real Romance fragments of poetry, rebuilt and remoulded according to Arabic conventions. For Romance *xarja*-s from the Hebrew series, the situation is not basically different, except for texts written in the *mišqāl ha-t^cnū^cōt*. This pattern is problematic, though not impossible in the Arabic system, since the opposition between long and short syllables has disappeared. In some cases, the Arabic system provides an inadequate explanation of the metrical system of the *xarja*-s, namely when too many *ziḥāfāt* or *‘ilāl* have to be posited. Nevertheless, this does not constitute proof of the application of a Romance system. Musical practice might be an explanation for all irregularities, but this cannot be supported by evidence.

In my examination of rhyme, I came to the conclusion that all Romance rules for rhyme are compatible with the Arabic rules, except the existence in Romance literature of assonant rhyme. I have demonstrated that all the *xarja*-s with assonant rhyme are compatible with the Arabic licence of *ikfā’*. *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (“requiring what is not compulsory”) is an Arabic technique which explains the rhyme-practice of the *muwaššahāt* and their *xarja*-s. To sum up, prosodically the Romance *xarja*-s are not situated at the ‘crossroads of two systems’. These texts have been composed in perfect agreement with the Arabic prosodic system of *‘arūd*-patterns and rhyme-techniques and their licences.

Thematic features

The *muwaššah* shares many thematic features with the *qaṣīd*. There are no Romance parallels of *zajal*-like poems with the same tripartite structure and with their specific themes. Some *xarja*-s apparently conform to the lyrical tradition of the Arabs, in particular those where pre-Islamic themes are used. As Fish has demonstrated, even taking into account ‘new material’ of Ibn Bīrī, *muwaššahāt* with Romance or bilingual *xarja*-s are more often expressed by a female than in the Arabic *xarja*-s. Nevertheless, the

2 Some modern theorists have tried to apply al-Xalīl’s system to English and French verse, as Elwell-Sutton observed (1976:57).

female voice is no evidence for extra-Arabic theories.

However, there are some extra-Andalusian elements. The invocation to the mother is never expressed in Arabic (*ummī*) in the Hebrew *corpus*, but only exceptionally in the Arabic series, whereas the word *mamma* is used frequently in both series. The use of Arabic words in a Romance context sometimes demonstrates that the Arabic language was predominant: there is no Romance equivalent for *ḥabībī*, such as *amigo*. The *raqīb* is recorded in all series, but more frequently in the Romance *xarja*-s. Specific Arabic metaphors are not found in the Romance *corpus*, which suggests that the Romance texts are not a mere translation from Arabic examples. The concept of *buen amor* has no equivalent in Arabic. The expression *filyól alýéno* ('someone else's child') has been recorded only in Romance and does not have Arabic parallels.

Thematically, the Andalusian *xarja*-s were written in agreement with the Arabic tradition, although in some cases the Andalusian Arabic and Hebrew poets inserted references to extra-Arabic elements. Some of these extra-Arabic elements have been recorded indeed in the Romance parallels in later periods. The Andalusian *xarja*-s, which contain such a small number of extra-Andalusian elements, are not to be considered as genuine Romance poetry. The only important difference between Romance and Arabic *xarja*-s is the language itself. It would probably be impossible to tell the two collections apart if they were translated into a third language.

Stylistic features

The Arabic rhetorical system is an adequate model for the description of the rhetorical devices which occur in the *xarja*-s. This means that Andalusians used, whether deliberately or not, they had gained knowledge in their education. Arabic rhetorical devices, such as *tajnīs*, are even used in the Romance *xarja*-s. The functions of code-switching in natural speech, as described in modern linguistics, such as reiteration, opposition, emphasis, focalization are also used as stylistic features in the *xarja*-s.

Text and context: the bilingual xarja-s and their value as documents for the linguistic situation of al-Andalus

Finally I shall make an attempt to incorporate my results in the discussion of the first chapter about the linguistic situation of al-Andalus. Both classical and strophical poetry were written by learned poets who had a perfect command of the classical Arabic language and Xalilian prosody. Most *muwaššahāt* date from the Taifa-period, the Almoravid and Almohad period. Arabic and Hebrew poets described the Taifa-period as the literary apogee of al-Andalus and later poets imitated the poets from this period. Many scholars, for example Ibn Bassām, mentioned this type of poetry, yet they did not include them in their anthologies; they despised strophical poetry, for being non-classical. When the *muwaššah* had found its way into court-literature the situation changed. One of the main factors which

contributed to its success and popularity is the great number of courts and the cultural background of the Taifa-Kings. Many poets competed in verse with their colleagues and they were surrounded by a great number of learned musicians and professional poets. When the Almoravids supplanted these petty Kingdoms, many poets were forced to leave the country or to choose other jobs. It has been stated that the Almoravids did not have a thorough knowledge of Arabic language and culture and in many studies since Dozy there is an emphasis on the intolerance of their politics. Their book burnings have been often compared to the Spanish Inquisition. This image must be differentiated, because we know that these Berbers were arabized very quickly and had a great admiration of Arabic-Andalusian culture. The *muwaššahāt* continued to be popular during the Berber dynasties and for the first time the *zajal*, which is probably older than the *muwaššah*, as I tried to demonstrate, entered court literature. Ibn Quzmān and Maḡallīs are the most representative composers of *azjāl* during these Berber dynasties. Language-switching always had a low prestige. It was regarded as “ungrammatical” and never reached the status of prestigious literature. The Andalusian poets tried to demonstrate that they were perfectly able to compose both ‘*āmmī* and ‘*ajamī*-utterances, while using the model they were familiar with. To summarize, Andalusian strophic poetry and the *xarja* are a further development of conventional techniques. The poets probably tried to reproduce the vernaculars as best as they could, except in those cases where they deliberately misrepresented the original speech for humorous purposes.

The multicultural and multilingual character of society is indeed reflected in Andalusian strophic poetry. Languages and alphabets of the three religions were used, but ‘oecumenic’ theories must not distract us from reality. Our Romance *xarja*-s were not composed ‘at the crossroads of two systems’, but completely according to Arabic tradition: historically, prosodically, thematically and stylistically. In the Romance and bilingual *xarja*-s some non-Arabic material was sporadically incorporated, but Andalusian poets did not base their *muwaššahāt* upon them.

Appendix I Bilingualism in medieval poetry

The use of one or more languages in poetry is a very common feature in poetry. This phenomenon has been recorded in many literatures, not only in medieval times but also in modern songs and poetry all over the world. In medieval poetry of the Islamic world, bilingualism was used in various types of poetry. In an earlier chapter, I mentioned the use of a Persian quotation in the closing section of a poem of Abū Nuwās.¹ For bilingual Persian-Arabic compositions I refer to al-^cUmānī and Ibn Abī Karīma (see al-Jāhīz: *Al-Bayān wa-l-Tabyīn*, i:141-144). Other languages have been recorded in Abū Dāwūd al-Iṣḥāḩānī: *Zahra*, p.790; Ibn al-Aṭīr: *Al-Waṣī al-Marqūm*, ed. AH 1298, pp. 71-72 (Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, within one poem). The Persian author Rādūyānī (*Tarjumān*, 107-108) uses a special name for this type of poetry: *mulamma^c* (Persian-Arabic). The *mulamma^c* is a 'macaronic' poem, composed in alternate lines or couplets in two, occasionally three, different languages: Arabic, Persian and one of the dialects of Persian (Browne 1906:23;44). Code-switching in poetry has been studied much less than code-switching in natural speech. The use of two languages or two registers of one language in the *xarja*-s is not a unique phenomenon, which is why I shall attempt to classify in this chapter the different ways of using one or more languages in other literatures. The aim of this appendix is to compare the bilingual utterances in the *xarja*-s with other, similar cases, in order to better understand how this specific stylistic device functioned.

The first distinction we have to make, is the insertion of another language at random, i.e. at an arbitrary place in the poem on the one hand (A), and the insertion of another language into a fixed and regular place of the poem on the other hand (B).

A. Arbitrary switching

The first example of this category is a fragment in the Romance vernacular, (*verbum gallicum*), inserted into a Latin context (Zumthor 1960:316).²

Papa, si rem tangimus, nomen habet a re;
Quicquid habent alii, solus vult papare,
Vel si verbum gallicum vis apocopare,
Paies! paies! dist le mot, si vis impetrare.

In the *Cancioneros* we find poems in various languages, such as Latin,

1 See Jones (1991c:67 and 70:n.19)

2 *Carmina Burana* (n°42).

Italian, Catalan and Castilian. Bilingualism is also a very frequently recurring phenomenon. The following fragment (Salvador Miguel 1987:667) is taken from a poem in which there are repeated shifts from one language to another without a fixed pattern. Frequently used phrases or segments in Latin are inserted, such as *gloria in excelsis, laudamus te, benedicimus te*, etc.

Ite missa est

La missa de Amor dicha es.

In this fragment the vernacular language repeats the Latin phrase, providing some sort of translation of the preceding line. Code-switching is also found frequently in quotations, particularly after *verba dicendi*. The poet introduces another person who expresses himself, or sings, in his or her language. The first example of this category is a passage from the *Cancionero de Baena* (1445). Without entering into the discussion about the various interpretations³, we can probably read the passage as a bilingual fragment of a song, an *anaxir* in Arabic and Castilian. This word is derived from the root *anšada* which means, among other things, 'to quote', 'to recite':⁴

porque yo vea en Granada
cantar vn lindo *anaxir*
ya dayfy cultan que vyr,
desque la oviéredes ganada...

The Arabic line means "Oh, my guest, great *šultān*!". From the same *Cancionero* is the following quadrilingual fragment. The poem is written in Castilian with insertions of Latin, Arabic and English. The English fragment is probably the oldest English expression found in Castilian literature.

¡Sae, Regina!. ¡Saluadme, señora!
e a las de vezes paresçie oyr:
Mod hed god hep, alumbradm'agora.
E a guisa de dueña que deuota ora:
Quam bonus Deus!, le oy rezar,
e oyle a manera de apiadar:
Çayha bical habin al cabila mora.

The English fragment is a corrupted version of the phrase "Mother of God, Help!", expressed by the Queen during the birth of her son John II in 1405. The Latin line does not offer complications, but there is no consensus in

³ See: Entwistle (1937:78-9); Nykl (1938:349-350); Krotkoff (1974:427-429).

⁴ The word *anšada* means also 'to sing' (Vázquez Ruiz 1981-1982:46 and 57). *Našīd* is used for a 'song' (Dozy 1967³). See for other sources Monroe (1987:271-272).

the readings of the Arabic line. The most plausible reading is “šā’iḥa bik al-ḥāmil, al-qābila mora”. Translation ; “The pregnant woman calls you, oh moorish midwife!”. The sequence *al-qābila mora* is bilingual, the Arabic substantive *al-qābila* and the Castilian adjective ‘mora’.

Another fragment is from the *Libro de Buen Amor* in which Juan Ruiz⁵ introduces the matchmaker (‘trotaconventos’) who approaches a moorish lady. The latter answers in her native language. Juan Ruiz reproduces exactly the foreign expressions:

Saluadvos amor nuevo. Diz la mora: ‘*Leš nedrī*’
 (...) ‘*Le, gu’Alā*’
 Fabladme *alāud*
 (...)Dixo la mora: ¡*Ascut!*
 (...) e dixo: ¡*Amxí, amxí!*⁶

Explanation:

‘*leš nedrī*’: I don’t understand, I don’t know.

‘*Lā wa-llāh*’: No, by God!

‘*Fabladme alāud*’: ‘Speak to me’ ‘*alā wudd*’: *with love*.

‘*uskut*’ or ‘*skut*’ = Silence!, hush!

‘*imšī*’, or ‘*mšī*’: Go away!.

After this interesting fragment the famous lines follow:

Después muchas cantigas fiz de dança e troteras
 para judías e moras e para entenderas.

This fragment illustrates the ‘international’ and multilingual character of many medieval songs, dances and poetry.

Another type, comparable to the categories I just mentioned, are the medieval ‘macaronic’ poems, specially of the goliardic tradition. Many of these poems, undoubtedly were written with the aim of reaching a comic, humoristic, satirical, erotic or even pornographic effect. One example:

Je veux latinus parlare
Ad dominum Margaritam (...)
parlatis à moy, Margueritam
*ce que te mandaverunt (...).*⁷

In this fragment the Latin elements have been fully integrated in the French syntax. The following example is poem n° 247 from the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*, a collection of poems anthologized during the reign of

⁵ Juan Ruiz: *Libro de Buen Amor* (Corominas 1967:563-5:vv. 1508 ff).

⁶ See also Cantarino: *Romance Notes* 5(1964), 212-216.

⁷ See Bardenwerper (1910:38) and Giese (1961:79-90).

the Catholic Kings. The language of this poem might be called 'soldier-pidgin' or a *lingua franca*, or a calque of it.

La botilla plena
dama qui maina
cerrali la vena
(...)botr'ami contrari ben.
Niqui, niquidón
formagidón, formagidón.
Yo soy Monarchea
de grande nobrea
Dama, por amor,
dama, belse mea;
dama, por amor,
dama, yo la vea.⁸

In the same *Cancionero* we find a Basque-Castilian 'macaronic' poem which has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted.

Jançu Janto dego de Garçigorreta
Jançu Janto dego de Garçigorra.
Arre chacorra çei degueçu
gavian dani levari
María Rroche çerca mora
en cantar viçerraco,
es naqui en Artajona
por do Gurgurengoa,
por do pasa Ochoa
candia jaroa
por do vero veroa
vero vero veroa
Estangurria rrico va.⁹

B. Switching within a poem, according to a fixed pattern

B.1. Another language at the beginning of the line

In the following fragment Latin words have been placed at the beginning of the lines, but not in each line of the poem:

Credo, fet-il, de mes deniers,
In deum, qu'en pourrai-je fere ?
Ma fame est de si pute afere,
Patrem, que se je li lessioie
et je de cest mal garissoie....¹⁰

8 Romeu (1965:370).

9 Romeu (1965:370:n°248).

B.2. Another language at the end of the line

The poet adds an extra dimension to the rhyme-schemes introducing another language in the final position. In the *Ruodlieb*, written between 900 and 1050, we can see German words in rhyme position within a Latin context (Voorwinden 1990:7). Here is an extract:

Dixit: "dic illi de me de corde fideli
Tantundem *liebes*, quantum ueniat modo *loubes*
Et uolucrum *vvunna* quot sunt, sibi dic mea *minna*"

As Voorwinden has demonstrated, these four words are not the only German words in the *Ruodlieb*. In the other cases, the poet inserted a Germanism of which Latin equivalents were difficult to find, such as the fish *rinanch* ('*Rheinanke*') or proper names (*Ruodlieb*) or typically German titles ('*marhmanni*'). In these two lines, the German words could be easily substituted by Latin equivalents. Because these words are situated in the rhyme position, it has been suggested (Brinkmann 1926:103) that the poet took an existing German love poem as point of departure for his Latin composition. The audience would have recognized immediately the poem in question.

In a poem by fray Diego about a 'converso', called Juan de España, we find 24 Hebrew words in rhyme position, inserted in Castilian lines. Almost all these words can be related to Jewish liturgy:

Johan de España, muy grant saña
fue aquesta de *Adonay*
pues la aljama se derrama
por culpa de *Barçelay*

Todos fuemos espantados
maestros, rrabies, *cohenim*...¹¹

B.3. The poet alternates entire lines or hemistichs in two or more languages

A salient example is a fragment from the *Carmina Burana* (n° 185), where the poet alternates Latin with Middle-High German lines. Another example is a combination of Latin and French in a poem by a monk called Scilly. Systematically, the odd lines are in Latin rhyme with the morpheme for the Latin perfect tense '-*idit*', while the even lines in French end with '-*é*', the morpheme for the participle:

Anglorum rex nunc edidit,
Ce qu'il a lougement couvé

10 Zumthor (1960:311).

11 *Adonay* ("God"); *Barçelay* (devil); *cohenim* (priests). *Baena*, (Ed. Azáceta 1966:n°511).

*Regem Francorum prodidit,
Son seigneur, son cousin prouvé
Argentum multum perdidit,
Cil qui l'ont eü l'ont trouvé:
Judas dominum tradidit,
Ainsi l'en sera reprouvé.*¹²

There are also more sophisticated compositions, such as the combination French-Hebrew with the rhyming abababbab, where *a* corresponds with lines in Hebrew, and *b* with French.¹³ Another example is the poem “*Kleriker und Nonne*” (Voorwinden 1990:8) which has long lines, whose first hemistichs are in Latin and the second ones in German. Voorwinden (1990:8-15) also quotes a bilingual poem with a similar structure, the “*De Heinricho*”, which is handed down intact. The poem has 27 lines, 8 stanzas, three of four and five of three long lines with caesura. Both hemistichs of each line are linked together by final rhyme. The first two stanzas are as follows:

Nunc almus thero euuigun/ assis thiernun filius
benignus fautor mihi,/ thaz ig iz cosan muozi
de quodam duce,/ themo heron Heinriche,
qui cum dignitate/ thero Beiaro riche beuuarode.

Intrans nempe nuntius/ then keisar namoda her thus:
'cur sedes', infit, 'Otdo,/ ther unsar keisar guodo?
hic adest Heinrich,/ bringt her hera kuniglich.
dignum tibi fore/ thir seluemo ze sine.'....

In this poem we find a mixture of Latin, High-German and Old-Saxon forms. As Voorwinden states, the hemistichs in German do not add anything essential to the Latin text. It is remarkable that all the hemistichs in direct speech are in Old-Saxon. Voorwinden (1990:15) states that this poem could never be a testimony of vernacular poetry. It is clearly an invention of a learned poet. In Hispano-Arabic poetry the segments which contain dialogues have not exclusively been written in colloquial Romance or in Arabic (or Hebrew). The *xarja*, however, is almost always a quotation of direct speech or a semi-quotation.

B.4. *More than one line, or an entire stanza introduces the poem*

A curious example of this category is a poem from a Catalan *Cancionero* from the 15th century where the opening stanza is written in Arabic while the rest of the poem is written in Castilian with Aragonese features. The poem has been explained by Solà-Solé (1972), and here I quote his reading:

12 Zumthor (1960:331).

13 Zumthor (1960:331).

Di ley vi namxi
Ay mesqui
Naffla calbi

Quando vos veo senyora
 por la mi puerta passar
 Lo coraçon se me alegra
 Damores quiero finar...¹⁴

The text is, according to Solà Solé's reconstruction: "(b)ille[h]i bi[k] namxi m(i)squi/ Na(h)la qalbi". It is very plausible that this Arabic opening strophe was associated with a specific melody and was used as a refrain.

In the bilingual *maṭrūz* of the m^eḡorāšīm in North Africa, we see Hebrew strophes alternating with Arabic ones. Many of these judeo-Arabic poems have the *zajal*-like structure. The Arabic is used for profane themes, such as the wine-motif, and Hebrew for religion and liturgy.¹⁵

B.5. The opposition strophe-refrain with alternating languages

One of the oldest vernacular texts is the so-called bilingual "Alba of Fleury", which dates from the 10th century. In this poem, the Latin stanzas are followed by vernacular Romance, although the exact language has not been identified with certainty:

Phebi claro	nondum orto iubare
fert Aurora	lumen terris tenue:
spiculator	pigris clamat:" surgite!"
<i>L'alba par'</i>	<i>umet mar,</i>
atra sol,	
poy pas'.	a bigil,
mira clar	tenebras!... ¹⁶

As Zumthor has pointed out, this composition can be described as the opposition between two parts, operating on different levels. The sections in Latin are rich with rhetorical figures, such as alliteration (terris tenue), antithesis (Clara Aurora - lumen tenue), hyperbole (the adjective 'claro'), and finally a personification (Aurora fert). Except for the alliteration 'poy pas' and the opposition between 'clar' and 'tenebras', we do not find such artistic 'tours de force' in the Romance sections. The use of the vernacular could have been an insertion of a refrain from the popular tradition.

14 A possible Arabic refrain in a Galician-Portuguese poem has been interpreted by Brian Dutton (1964). For Arabic in a French *zajal*-like poem, see Galmés de Fuentes (1992). García Gómez interpreted the lines 'Calvi vi Calvi/ Calvi aravi' in a refrain recorded by Salinas (García Gómez 1956a).

15 See Chahbar (1990 and 1991).

16 Zumthor (1960:331) and Dronke (1978:217).

A second example of the same category is a poem from the *Carmina Burana*. The composition in Latin is alternated with Middle-High German in the refrain. Here too, we can notice a sharp contrast in style and register of the two different parts:

O mi dilectissima!
vultu serenissima
et mente legis sedula
ut mea refert littera ?
Mandaliet, mandaliet !
*min geselle chömet niet!*¹⁷

In the oldest transmitted Flemish song-book, called *Suuerlijck boecxken*, we see *zajal*-like strophes with alternating languages in the *vueltas*:

Ons is geboren een kindekijn,
Daer om so willen wi vrolic sijn.
Laet ons hem dienen met herten fijn,
Want sinen naem die is Jhesus.
Vale sus sus sus,
Sprac Maria tot Jhesus.

Als ghi ghelaghet, maghet Marij,
So en wasser nyemant bij,
Dan Joseph ende Anastasij.
Haer handen hadde si gelaten thuys,
Vale sus, etc.

(...)

(last strophe)

Die herdekens songhen, Ha, ha, ha,
Ons is gheboren, so ic versta,
In excelsis gloria
Et in terra pax hominibus."
*Vale sus, etc. (Suuerlijck Boecxken n°VII).*¹⁸

B.6. The poet closes his poem in another language or another register of the same language

This phenomenon is widely known in many literatures. In many instances, a quotation of another poet has been inserted at the end of the composition, e.g. the beginning of a psalm in Latin can be used as the final part of the poem (Romeu 1965:321-322, n°154). In traditional poetry, such compositions have been recorded too:

17 *Carmina Burana*, (n°180).

18 See Zwartjes (1994e).

Si Aristóteles supiera
aquesto de cantinploris
cierto es que no dixera
motus est causa caloris. (Frenk 1987:nº1604).

In *Carmina Burana* nº 51 (Bischoff 1974) we find a Latin poem closed by a final stanza in Greek. Many other examples from different countries could be added, such as the trilingual poem:

Pater noster qui es in celis,
pon la mesa sin manteles
i el pan sin cortezón,
i el cuchillo sin mangón
kirieleisón, kirieleisón. (Frenk 1987:nº1946).

C. Bilingualism in Andalusian strophic poetry and medieval parallels

As I have tried to demonstrate, the use of bilingualism is not restricted to Andalusian poetry. It can be found throughout Europe and in all times. Romance elements in the *zajal* can be found anywhere in the poem, and these arbitrary switchings have also been recorded in other lyrical traditions. The use of another language or language register at the end of the poem is not only found in the *xarja* of the *muwaššah* but can also be found in other literatures, although in the latter case, normally a refrain in another language is appended, while the *xarja* is not a refrain. Another difference is that the function of the *xarja* and the use of bilingualism or colloquialisms at the end of the poem is strictly related to the fixed form of the *muwaššah*. In medieval parallels, a fixed strophic form with similar features of the *xarja*, as an obligatory element is non-existent. Parallels can be found, but they are only accidental. Finally I wish to emphasize the difference of typology of the switching patterns. There are many different switching patterns within the *xarja*-s and a considerable number of them are artificial. In many *xarja*-s more than one switch may occur. In some medieval parallels such characteristics are found as well, although these parallels are to be regarded as accidental. Apparently, the peculiar use of bilingualism or colloquialisms in Andalusian strophic poetry formed an integral part of the genre.

Appendix II Old Andalusian texts in the North African musical tradition.

As Stern pointed out (1964), the number of existing Mss. is far greater than he could consult. During a visit to Tetuán, I was informed by Malik Bennouna that there exist many more Mss. from the al-Ḥā'ik tradition, than mentioned by Stern. Bennouna's investigations are of great interest, because many poems from the recently published collection *Uddat al-Jalīs* are known to Bennouna from other Mss. from the musical tradition. Moreover, Bennouna used Mss. which were unknown to both Stern and Valderrama. Bennouna gave me the following titles of Mss:

Sigla:

- Al-Ḥā'ik:
- Reqiwwaq (K)
- Bennis (B)
- Zwitter (Z)
- Copy from *Leiden* (L)¹
- The oldest copy is from the year 1202 h. (H,02)

He mentions the following Ḥā'ik-editions:

- M'birco (M)
- Benmansour (S)
- Benjeloun (J)
- Rayes (R)
- Shami (SH)

Here, I enumerate all correspondences between the *Uddat al-Jalīs* and the corpus studied by Bennouna. I add the observations and correspondences made by Jones in order to complete both studies (Jones 1991 and 1992). The numbers correspond with the recent edition by Jones:

N°6

Beginning: *ana bi l-afrāḥ*.

Author: Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qaysī b. Baqī from Cordova (Ibn Baqī, died in 1145). Solà-Solé already pointed out

1 I have not yet verified whether this Ms. is the same as the Leiden Ms.Or.14169, mentioned by Schippers (1991:158, n.2).

(Solà-Solé 1973:48) that his compositions still are being sung in North Africa. New evidence for this poem are the following correspondences: Entire *muwaššaha* in G. 238-239 and the first stanza with the *maṭlaʿ* in al-Ḥā'ik: K.52, B.131 and 137, Z.41 and 83, M.65, S.84 and 194, J.105 and 342, R.117 and 360, Sh. 1.39 and in L.

Second strophe in L.

Third strophe in H, 02, 238 and 272, K. 98 and 113, B.82, 147 and 226, Z.66, 91 and 102, M. 120, S.137, 206 and 238, J.116, 209 and 254, R. 134, 235 and 301, Sh. 2, 102 and in L.

Fourth strophe in K. 126 and in L.

N°13

Beginning: *adīrhā ʿalā l-ṣabbi akwās*.

Author: Anonymous.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 257-258.

N°16

Beginning: *nasīmu l-rawḍi fāḥ*.

Author: Anonymous

The *maṭlaʿ* of this poem is the *xarja* of Y^ḥūdāh ha-Lēbī. Hayim Brody: *Dīwān Y^ḥūdāh ha-Lēbī*, Vols.1 and 2, Berlin, 1894/1930. Repr. 1971 and the same *xarja* with three different lines in a different meter appears in Hayim Schirmann, *Širim Hadašim min ha-Genizah*. Jerusalem, 1965 (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977:145: n°6).

(Zajal) The *maṭlaʿ* with another strophe in H,02, 116, K.55 and in L.

First strophe in H,02, 116.

Second strophe after the *maṭlaʿ* in G.40

N°17

Beginning: *kullun lahu hawāka yaṭību*.

Author: Abū Bakr Ibn Zuhr (born in Seville in 1110-1111).

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 244-245.

The first strophe in K.89, B.69, Z.56, M.100, S.121, J.191, R.215.

The fourth strophe in G.12-13 and in B.69, Z.56, M.100, S.121, J.191, R.215.

N°18

Beginning: *yawmu l-firāqi yawmun ʿaṣību*.

Author: Ibn Zuhr.

Entire *muwaššaha* in G. 244-245.

N°21

Beginning: *lam tazal bi l-qalbi ḥattā ʿaṣīqa*.

Author: Abū-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd-Allāh b. Hurayra al-ʿAbsī al-A^ḥmā al-Tuṭīlī (died 1126).

Entire *muwaššaha* in G. 245-246.

N°25

Beginning: (*aqra*^c composition) *qad badā mā kuntu uxfīhi ʿani l-ʿāḍili*.

Author: Anonymous.

The first *ḡuṣn* followed by the *xarja* in B.173 and 227, Z.103-134, S.240 and 298, J.150 and 286, R.178 and 302.

N°28

Beginning: *qaḍat bi-ʿqtināši l-usdi*

Author: Anonymous, but the first hemistich of the *maṭla*^c can be found in *Jayš al-Tawšīḥ* where this poem is attributed to Ibn Šaraf (beginning of the Almoravid period)

Second strophe in G. 220.

N°41

Beginning: *kam jaddalat murhifātu l-ḡanaj*

Author: Anonymous.

Entire *muwaššaha* in G. 183-184.

N°47

Beginning: *ʿallili l-aḥzāna bi l-ṭarabi*.

Author: Anonymous.

Entire *muwaššaha* in G.172.

The *xarja* is the same as ʿUdda n°44 by Ibn Baqī.

N°50

Beginning: *mā li-qalbī qarār*

Author: In ʿUdda the author is Ibn Baqī and in *Jayš* (15,2) it is Ibn Zuhr.

N°55

Beginning: *yā ṭāʾira l-bānati kam ḍa l-niyāḥ*.

Author: Anonymous.

Entire *muwaššaha* in G. 24-25.

N°56

Beginning: *hal yanfaʿu l-wajdu aw yufīd*.

Author: (Possibly) Ibn Zuhr.

Entire *muwaššaha* in D. 71-72 and in ʿUyūn al anbaʾ by Ibn Abī Uṣaybī^ca (2,73).

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in G.20 and in H,02, 135 and 212, K.78, B.01, Z.69, M.129, S.150, J.153, R.185 and in L.

Second strophe in S.224 and J.256.

Third strophe in K.11, B.157, Z.120, S.278, J.129, R.152 and in L.

Fourth strophe in S.224 and J.256.

N°58

(Defective text)

Beginning: *nabbaha l-ṣubḥu raqdat al-nā'imi*.

Author: Ibn Zuhri.

The *maṭla'* with the first and second strophe in D.59-60.

N°67

Beginning: *adir 'alayya ku'ūsa rāḥ*.

Author: Anonymous.

The *ḡuṣn* of the second strophe in H,02, 97, K.73, S.133, J.207, R.233 and in L.

The first hemistich of the *xarja* also in *Jayš* (14,6).

N°79

Beginning: *adir lanā akwāb*.

Author: Ibn Baqī in *'Udda*; Al-A^cmā in *Jayš* (2,10).

Entire *muwašṣaḥa* in Dār al-Ṭirāz, n°5.

The *maṭla'* with the first strophe in K.18 and in L.

The first strophe (without *maṭla'*) in H,02, 28, 179, 219 and 259, B.74, Z.59, M.107, S.126 and 313, J.195, R.220.

Fifth strophe with *xarja* in H,02, 101 and in L.

N°84

Beginning: *aridhā arād*.

Author: Anonymous.

The *maṭla'* with the first strophe in K.80, J.167 and in L.

The First strophe in G.105 and H,02, 218

The fourth strophe in G. 105-106, H,02, 221, B.04, Z.72, M.134, S.159, J.167 and R.190.

N°92

Beginning: *man 'allaqa l-qurṭā*.

Author: In *Jayš*: Ibn al-Rāfi^c Ra'suh, poet at the court of al-Ma'mūn of Toledo (reigned 429-468 h.). In al-Ṣafadī's *Tawṣīṭ al-Tawṣīḥ* the author is al-Ḥuṣrī, who lived in Al-Qairawān, Al-Andalus, Ṭanja and Sabta. He died in Ṭanja in 488 h.

The entire *muwašṣaḥa* in G.43-45 and 87-89.

The fourth strophe in H,02, 141.

N°94

Beginning: *naqaḍa l-'ahda 'illaḍī qad 'ahadā*.

Author: Anonymous.

The entire *muwašṣaḥa* in G.111-112.

N°101

Beginning: *yā man ‘adā wa-ta‘addā*.

Author: Abū-l-Walīd Yūnus b. ‘Isā al-Xabbāz al-Mursī, who lived probably in the almohad period.

Entire *muwaššaha* in Jayš (10,2).

The entire *muwaššaha* except its *maṭla‘* in G.6-8.

The *maṭla‘* and the first strophe in L.

The *xarja* has been used sometimes as final lines in several *šana‘āt* and sometimes as an independent poem as in B.183 and Z.18.

Al-A‘mā uses the same *xarja* in his *muwaššaha* which opens *yā man ramā ‘l-lawma* (al-Rawḍa), and the author Ibn Ġanī uses this *xarja* in his *muwaššaha* which begins *a‘āda hijran wa-abdā* (Dīwān Ibn Ġanī, 184).

N°103

Beginning: *yā saffāk*.

Author: Ibn Šafī‘.

The *maṭla‘* with the first and second strophes, followed by the fourth qufl in H,02, 83-84.

The *maṭla‘* and the first strophe in G.122.

N°106

Beginning: *jarriri l-dayla ayyamā jarri*.

Author: In *‘Udda* the author is Ibn Bājja, and in *Jayš* the author is Ibn al-Šayrafī.

The *maṭla‘* and the first strophe in K.129 and in L.

The *maṭla‘* with the second strophe until the *xarja* in G.28-29 (lacking the first strophe and the *xarja*).

The Hispano-Hebrew poet Iṣḥāq b. Y‘hūdāh b. Ġī‘at (1038-1089/90) uses the same *xarja* (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977: n°21).²

N°127

Beginning: *ahwā nasīm al-šabāḥ*.

Author: Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Isrā‘īlī.

The *maṭla‘* is the *xarja* of the anonymous *muwaššaha* which begins *wā xajlatā* (Al-Maqqarī; *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 7,70).

Only in the *‘Udda* and the Rawḍa this *muwaššaha* has a *xarja*. It also appears in G.9-11.

2 “Ha-Mešorerim b’nei Doran šel Moše b. ‘Ezra ve-Y‘hudah ha-Levi ” *Yedi‘ot*, 2(1936), 117-194, 6(1944), 249-322

N°129

Beginning: *rīmuka yā rāmah*.

Author: Al-Mursī.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G.122-123.

N°135

Beginning: *zamanu l-unsī*.

Author: Ibn al-Xatīb.

The *muwaššaha* from the *maṭlaʿ* until the third line of the *guṣn* of the fifth strophe in the *Kitāb al-Iḥāta* of Ibn al-Xatīb, Vol. 4, 526.

The sixth qufl and the last three strophes only in *ʿUdda*.

N°143

Beginning: *saqṭu l-dumūʿi jāri*.

Author: Anonymous.

The *maṭlaʿ* and the first strophe in H,02, 229, K.37, M.135, S.106 and in L.

N°145

Beginning: *ʿaqārību l-aṣḍāḡ*.

Author: Ibn Sahl in *ʿUdda*; Ibn Šaraf in Jayš.

The *maṭlaʿ*, the first and second strophe in D.53-54 and H,02, 52, K.72 and 102, B.06 and 170, Z.73 and 131, M.136, S.161, J.146, R.173 and 192 and in L.

The third strophe in G.63.

N°151

Beginning: *billāhi yā saffāk*.

Author: Anonymous.

This *muwaššaha* with six strophes can be found in D.28-29, but the sixth strophe in D. is the third in the *ʿUdda*, n°152, p. 231. This poem can be found also in the Ms. *Nuzhatu-l-Ġawāni*, f.239, attributed to Ibn Sahl.

The *maṭlaʿ* and the first strophe in G.125, H,02,30, K.72, B.168, Z.130, S.290, J.145, R.171 and in L.

The same *xarja* as the anonymous *muwaššahāt* n°s 152, 153 and 154 from the *ʿUdda*.

N°152

Beginning: *allāhu fī maḍnāk*.

Author: Anonymous.

The third strophe in D.29.

Same *xarja* as in *ʿUdda* n°s 151, 153 and 154.

Nº159

Beginning: *yā lā'imī fī l-taṣābī*.

Author: Ibn Bišrī.

The entire *muwašṣaḥa* in G. 8-9.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in K. 60.

The first strophe, without *maṭla*^c, in L.

Nº162

Beginning: *ʿasā ladayki yā rabbata l-qulbi*.

Author: Ibn Abī Ḥabīb.

The entire *muwašṣaḥa* in G. 23-24.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in G.12, H.02,136, K.12 and in L.

The *maṭla*^c, the first and third strophe and the *xarja* in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Muḡrib* (I, 387).

Nº178

The Romance *xarja* of this *muwašṣaḥa* "Nūn kār yūn ḥillāllu ilā-l-samarāllu" became very famous.

Author: Abū Bakr (Alias Abū ʿAbd Allāh) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Kumayt al-Ġarbī (al-Baṭalyawī), who worked for the king Mustāʿīn of Saragossa (reigned 1085-1110).

The first and third strophe in G.184-185.

The second strophe in G is different from the second of ʿUdda.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in K.25 and in L.

Only the first strophe, only in H.02,155.

Unfortunately, as we can see, no other versions of the Romance *xarja* have been unearthed.

Nº181

Beginning: *barq al-tanāyā mulīḥ*.

Author: Anonymous.

The *xarja* of this *muwašṣaḥa* is the *maṭla*^c of the *zajal* of Ibn Quzmān in al-Ḥillī (García Gómez 1972:II: 762; Hoenerbach 1956:46).³

Nº191

Beginning: *wayḥa qalbī*.

Author: Ibn Ḥayyūn, a contemporary to Ibn Zuhri.

The entire *muwašṣaḥa* in G.77-78.

3 García Gómez already noticed the correspondence, but he wrote that the *maṭla*^c of this *muwašṣaḥa* is the *xarja* of the *muwašṣaḥa* no 180 of ʿUdda. nº 181 is the correct number.

N°205

Beginning (*aqra*^c composition): *ġarrada l-ṭayru fa-nabbih man na^cas*

Author: Anonymous.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G.108-109 and in D.54-56 and in G; but the fifth strophe in D. is different from the fifth of the *Udda*.

N°206

Beginning: *šaṭṭat bi-aḥbābinā diyāru*.

Author: Ibn Ḥazmūn who wrote during the Almohad period.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in G.19-20.

N°208

Beginning: *bi-muhjatī tayyāh*.

Author: Anonymous.

The *maṭla*^c and the first and second strophe in D.73-74 and in H,02,14, 195, 221, 238 and 268, K.62, B.127, Z.38, M.61, S.79, J.233 and 331, R.128 and 264, Sh,2, 80 and in L.

The third strophe in B.156, Z.120, J.128 and R.150.

N°229

Beginning: *qaḍat xamru l-ṭuġūr*.

Author: Ibn Šaraf.

The entire *muwaššaha* in *Jayš* (7,2) and in G.42-43.

The first and second with *maṭla*^c in D.52-53.

The third strophe in D.53 is different from the third in *Udda*.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in H,02, 116-117, K.16 and in L.

N°233

Beginning: *ḥubbu l-ḥisāni*.

Author: In *Udda* anonymous, but in *Jayš* (12,4) the author is Abū ʿIsā b. Labbūn, visir of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Valencia (died in 1085).

The entire *muwaššaha* in G.192-193.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in H,02, 85, 140, 165 and 268, K.31, B.199, Z.45, M.76, S.96, J.65, R.57 and in L.

N°238

Beginning: *ḥuṭṭ al-mudām*.

Author: Ibn Hardūs, who worked in the beginning of the Almohad period.

The *maṭla*^c and the first four strophes in G.26-27.

The fourth strophe without *qufl* in H,02, 139 and 180, K.13 and in L.

N°239

Beginning (*aqra*^c-composition): *bi-abī man hadda min jismī*.

Author: The poetess Nazhūn bint al-Qalā^cī from Granada, a contemporary of Ibn Quzmān (died in 1160).

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 109-111 en the first three strophes in D.58-59.

The first strophe in K.76 and L.

The second strophe in H,02, 38, K.18 and in L.

The third strophe in H,02, 56-57, 164 and 214, K.61, B.02 and 152, Z.116, S.272 and 308, J.125 and 155, R.145, 170 and 186.

The fourth strophe in K.32, B.102, Z.170, S.368, J.96, R.102 and in L.

The same *xarja* as in *Udda* n° 240.

N°241

Beginning: *al-ūdu qad tarannam*.

Author: Ibn al-Rafī^c Ra'suh.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in H,02, 37, K.62, B.51 and 155, Z.106-119, S.175 and 251, J.127 and 295, R.148 and 309 and in L.

The *maṭla*^c and the *xarja* in Ibn Sa'īd's *al-Muqtaṭaf* (150) and *Azhar al-Riyāḍ*, 280,2.

The first strophe without *qufl* in H,02,140, K.13 and in L.

The second strophe in J. 295 as equivalent strophe to the first one.

Also a fragment in Al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (7,6) and in Ibn Xaldūn's *Al-Muqaddima* (1139).

N°245

Beginning: *inda xāl*.

Author: Ibn Baqī.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G.31-32 and in D.92-93.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in H,02, 110-111.

The third strophe in H,02, 138-139, K.12 and in L.

N°253

Beginning: *mā lī šamūl*.

Author: Ibn Baqī.

Muwaššaha, also in Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, n° 20; Al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (7,95), Nuwayrī, 2, 287 and S. Ġāzī, *Dīwān*, I, 454-456.

The first four strophes in chaotic order in D.60-61.

The *maṭla*^c and the third strophe in G.59.

N°257

Beginning: *hāḍa l-tajannī*.

Author: Anonymous.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 52-54.

The first strophe in R.23 and in L.

N°258

Beginning: *li-l-^cišqi*.

Author: Anonymous.

Only the *maṭla^c* in H,02, 125, K.101, S.311, J.215 and in L.

N°262

Beginning: *ilā matā*

Author: Anonymous in ^c*Udda* but it figures between the *muwaššahāt* of al-A^cmā in *Jayš* (2,14); Iḥsān ^cAbbās, *Dīwān*, n°14, pp. 274-275 and S. Ġāzī, *Dīwān* I, n°11, pp. 276-278.

The *maṭla^c* and the first strophe in K.93, B.75, Z.61, M.111, S.128, J.199, R.224 and in L.

N°265

Beginning: *dāri l-rašā l-wasnān*.

Author: Ibn Baqī.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 49-50.

The fifth strophe (the *ḡuṣn* and *xarja*) in H,02, 146.

N°267

Beginning: *man li-l-muwallah*.

Author: Ibn Zühr.

According to Al-Maqqarī, this song was still appreciated in Morocco in 1600, and it still is to the present day (Nykl 1946:250).

Three strophes in *Al-^cAḡḏarā al-mā'isāt*, 56.

The complete *muwaššaha* only in ^c*Udda* and in G.27-28.

The *maṭla^c* and the three first strophes in D.56-57, in the same condition in Ġāzī, Vol.2, pp. 96-98, n°12 followed by the final fifth strophe, i.e. the third line of the *ḡuṣn* and the *xarja*.

The *maṭla^c* and the first strophe in H,02, 39, 114 and 217, K.14 and 80, B.05, Z.15 and 72, M.11 and 135, S.40 and 160, J. 168, R.191 and in L.

The first strophe without *maṭla^c* in H,02, 84 and 256, K.93 and 142, B.76, Z.62, M.112, S.129, J.159 and 199, R.225.

The second strophe in K.42, B.93 and 202, Z.163, S.99 and 358, J.85, R.61 and 87 and in L.

The third strophe in H,02, 166 and 287, K.33, S.155, J.159 (instead of the first strophe) and in L.

The fourth strophe only in K.92 and J.197.

N°280

Beginning: *man lī bi-zabyin rabībi*.

Author: Anonymous in ^c*Udda*, but in *Jayš* the author is al-Xabbāz (10,10).

The *maṭla^c*, the first, second, fourth and fifth strophe with *xarja* appears in G.5-6. In the ^c*Udda* (Jones 1992:420-421), the beginning of this *muwaššaha* can be found at the end, i.e. the first and second strophes on page

421 and 4 and 5 on p. 420.

The same *xarja* as in 281.

N°284

Beginning: *ayyuhā l-sāqī ilayka l-muštakā*.

Author: Ibn Zühr.

S. Ġāzī, *Dīwān*, 2, 76. and in G. 75-76 and 170-171, and also in D.05. The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in H,02, 72.

The *maṭla*^c is the *xarja* of the *muwaššaha* by Ṭodros Abu l-^cAḫīyyāh (Monroe & Swiatlo 1977: n°25).⁴

N°295

Beginning: *lī fī l hawā madḥab*.

Author: Anonymous.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 47-48.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in H,02, 173-174.

The *maṭla*^c of the second strophe in G.194.

The colloquial material begins already in the final *guṣn* in stead of the *xarja*.

N°301

Beginning: *balligā ^cannī salmā balligā*.

Author: Anonymous.

The entire *muwaššaha* in G. 76-77.

N°328

Beginning: *hal darā ḡabyu l-ḥimā*.

Author: Ibn Sahl.

The entire *muwaššaha* in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Sahl, 1; Al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, (7,61) and Nawājī's *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, 67b; and in G.134-135.

The *maṭla*^c and the first strophe in G.21, K.11, J.245 and in L.

The first strophe in H,02, 67 and J.131.

The second strophe in G.21, K.16, B.160 and 173, S.298, J.150, R.178 and in L.

The third strophe in H,02,284, K.58 and 147, B.130, 146 and 159, Z.40, 91 and 121, M.64, S.83, 206 and 279, J.116, 132 and 341, R.113, 154 and 360, and in L.

The fourth strophe in G.21-22, K.23, B.17, Z.79, M.149, S.176, J.187, R.207 and in L.

The fifth strophe in G.22.

4 David Yellin: *Gan ha-Mešalim ve ha-Ḥidol: Divan Don Todros Abul^cAfia*, Vol.2, part 2, Jerusalem, 1936.

N°347

Beginning: *man yağuşş*.

Author: The Taifa King of Seville Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād.

(*Muzannam*); The *maṭla'* and the *aqfāl* and the *xarja* in *laḥn*, the *ağşān* in *fushā*.

The *maṭla'* and the first strophe in H,02, 35-36 and K.77.

The first strophe without *maṭla'* in H,02, 234, B.86, Z.68, M.124, S.140, J.213 and 247, R. 239 and 278.

The second strophe in K.87, S.213 and in L.

The third strophe in K.100, J.213 (instead of the first strophe) and in L.

The fourth strophe in K.115.

N°354

Beginning: *dahatnī 'uyūnu l-mahā l-ğāwiya*.

Author: Anonymous.

The *maṭla'* and the first strophe in G.115, H,02,62, K.68 and in L.

The Ms. breaks off in the third strophe. Unfortunately, as we can see, the other sources do not offer the rest of the composition.

Future investigations

In the first place, the research done by Jones and Bennouna respectively, obviously are complementary. More research must be incorporated, because neither Bennouna, nor Jones included the Rome Ms., that has been published in Algiers by J. Yalas and A. Ḥafnāwī: *Al-Muwašṣaḥāt wa-l-Azjāl*. Algiers, National Institute of Music, I, 1972, II, 1975, and III, 1982. As Schippers observed (1991: 158:n.8), we can find compositions of Ibn Baqī, Ibn Zuhri, Ibn Sahl and Ibn al-Xaṭīb also in this collection.

With the publication of the *'Uddat al-Jalīs*, considerable progress has been made. But as Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī has observed recently, we still have the collections *Saḡ al-Wurq al-muntaḥiba fī jam' al-muwašṣaḥāt al-muntajaba* by Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Saxāwī in Istanbul and *'Uqūd al-La'ālī* by al-Nawājī (containing 84 *muwašṣaḥāt* and 40 *azjāl*). Jones apparently used the *Saḡ* and the *'Uqūd*, since in his footnotes of his edition of the *'Uddat al-Jalīs*, we find references to these manuscripts. He probably consulted Haykal's unpublished dissertation which contains the *'Uqūd* in the second volume (Haykal 1982). Bennouna recently announced some more stimulating projects. His studies concern the manuscripts of al-Ḥā'ik, which are collections of fragments of *muwašṣaḥāt* intended for musical performance. He informed me that the publication of the *Rawḍ al-Ġannā' fī uṣūl al-ğinā'* (n° 192: Dār al-xizāna al-ċamma. Al-Ribat) will be very innovative, because this manuscript offers entire *muwašṣaḥāt*, -not just fragments as the collection of al-Ḥā'ik does-, with musical annotations which could reveal much about the original way of performing these Andalusian strophical poems. I hope these indications, together with future studies announced by Jones, will add new facts which will contribute to a better reconstruction

of the medieval musical performance. Bennouna also informed me of the fact that Jones indicates (1992:33) that the *muwaššaha* n° 21 also can be found in the *Rawḍ al-Ġannā'*. Publication of all unpublished manuscripts is an urgent necessity. Another necessity is an edition in the near future of the *Rayḥān al-Albāb wa ra'yān al-šabāb* written by al-Mawā'īnī in 1163.

Appendix III Chronology

Andalusian poets

Umayyads

Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qabrī. "Invented" the *muwašṣaḥ* at the end of the 9th century

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (died in 940).

Taifa-period (1031-1091)

Yūsēp al-Kātib wrote in honour of Šʿmūʿel b. Naḡrēylāh ha-Nāḡīd (993-1056) and his brother Yiṣḥāq, who died in 1042.

Yʿhūdāh b. Yiṣḥāq b. Ġīʾat

Ibn Labbūn: Taifa period; Lord of Murviedro; Mid to late- 11th century

Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz. Poet at the court of al-Muʿtaṣim of Almería

Ibn Šaraf wrote in Almería, also for al-Muʿtaṣim

Mošeh b. ʿEzrāʾ (1055-1139)

Al-Kumayt, praised King Mustaʿin of Saragossa who reigned from 1085-1110, and who was a contemporary of the Almoravids.

Al-Jazzār wrote also in Saragossa at the end of the 11th century.

Almoravids (1091-1145)

Yʿhūdāh ha-Lēbī born in 1075-1140 ?

Abrāhām b. ʿEzrāʾ (1092-1167)

Al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī died in 1126

Ibn Bājja Vizier to the Almoravid governor Ibn Tīfilwīt, poisoned in Fās in 1138

Mošeh b. ʿEzrāʾ died in 1139

Ibn Baqī died in 1145 (or 1150 ?)

Ibn Šaddīq died in 1149

Ibn Sahl, drowned in the Guadalquivir in 1251

Ibn Ruḥaym

Ibn Yannaq (Iñigo) (1089-1152)

Al-Abyaḍ.

Almohads (1145-1230)

Al-Xabbāz (Almohads ?)

Al-Manīšī (mid 12th century), "lazarillo" of al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī

Ibn ʿIsā.

Naṣrids (1230-1492)

Ṭodrōs Abū l-ʿAḫyāh (1247-1306); Castile

Ibn Xātima (died in 1369).

Theoreticians

Ibn Bassām (12th century; al-Andalus)

Appendix III

Al-Mawā'ini (died in 1168; Cordova; Magreb)
Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (1155-1212; Egypt)
Şafiyy al-Dīn al-Hillī (14th century; Iraq)
Ibn Xaldūn (1332-1382).

European poets

Gace Brulé (1159-1212; Provence)
Wace (middle of the 11th century)
Frederick II of Sicily (12th century)
Fra Jacopone da Todi (1236-1306; Italy)
King Alfonso X the Wise (1252-1284; Castile)
King Alfonso III of Portugal (1248-1279)
Uc de Sant Circ, Guiraut d'Espanha, Cerverí de Girona, Paulet de Marselha (middle of the 13th century)
Jeannot de Lescurel (1303).

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Bibliography

Abbreviations

Abh	Al-Abhāt
AEA	Anaquel de Estudios Árabes
AEM	Anuario de Estudios Medievales
AF	Anuario de Filología
Afr	África
AM	Annales Musicologiques
And	Al-Andalus
Ar	Arabica
Arch	Archivum
Arg	Arguments
AS	Asiatische Studien
ASeph	The American Sephardi
AUA	Anales de la Universidad de Alicante
AuO	Aula Orientalis
Awr	Awraq
BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BII	Bulletin of the Iranian Institute
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BRAE	Boletín de la Real Academia Española
BRAH	Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia
Brismes	British Society for Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin
BSCC	Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura
BSGA	Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CA	Cuadernos de Adán
CCM	Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale
CJL	Canadian Journal of Linguistics
CL	Comparative Literature
CN	Cultura Neolatina
Cor	La Corónica
Cr	El Crotalón
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
Dia	Diachronica
Ed	Edebiyât
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)
Em	Emerita
Eth	Ethnomusicology
Eu	Euphrosyne (Revista de Filología Clásica)
Fil	Filología
FH	Foro Hispánico
G	De Gids
Grundriss	Grundriss der arabischen Philologie Band II Literaturwissenschaft Ed Helmut Gätje Wiesbaden L. Reichert, 1987
Hel	Helmantica
His	Hispania
HR	Hispanic Review
IHAC	Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura
In	Insula
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IS	Islamic Studies

Bibliography

JA	Journal Asiatique
JAL	Journal of Arabic Literature
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JHPh	Journal of Hispanic Philology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
Kar	Al-Karmil
KFLQ	Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly
KRQ	Kentucky Romance Quarterly
Lam	Lamalif
Lan	Language
LD	Letras de Deusto
Lin	Lingua
Ling	Linguistics
LR	Lettres Romanes
LS	Language in Society
MA	Le Moyen Age
MEAH	Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos
MLR	The Modern Language Review
MR	The Maghreb Review
Neoph	Neophilologus
NIW	Nieuw Israeltisch Weekblad
NR	Neue Romania
NRFH	Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica
OM	Orientalisches Mittelalter (ed. Wolfhart Heinrichs)
Or	Oriens
OS	Orientalia Suecana
PE	Poesía Estrófica (eds. F. Corriente & Á. Sáenz-Badillos)
Qan	Al-Qantara
QSA	Quaderni di Studi Arabi
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RFE	Revista de Filología Española
RIEA	Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos
RH	Revue Hispanique
RIE	Revista de Investigación y Ensayo
RIEIM	Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid
RLC	Revue de Littérature Comparée
RO	Revista de Occidente
RoOr	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
Rom	Romania
RPh	Romance Philology
RQL	Revue Québécoise de Linguistique
RSO	Revista degli Studi Orientali
Sef	Sefarad
Sha	Sharqiyyāt
ShAn	Sharq al-Andalus
SIM	Sammelbande der Internationalen Musik Gesellschaft
Spe	Speculum
Studies	Studies on the <i>Muwašṣah</i> and the <i>Kharja</i> (eds. A. Jones & R. Hitchcock)
Tar	Tarbiz
TLF	Texas Linguistic Forum
Via	Viator
VR	Vox Romanica
WM	The World of Music
YUVAL	Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre of Jerusalem
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZFSL	Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur
ZRPh	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

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Samenvatting

– Omschrijving van de inhoud en probleemstelling van het onderzoek

Het onderzoek betreft de *xarja*-s, de in Spaans-Arabisch of Romaans dialect gestelde slotverzen van sommige Arabische gedichten in Moors Spanje. Doel van het onderzoek is de vergelijking met strofische gedichten uit de Ibero-Romaanse literatuur, zowel wat betreft structuur, als de metriek/prosodie als de thematiek. Doordat deze dichtvormen zich taalkundig gezien op een kruispunt van twee systemen bevinden, zullen de conclusies van belang kunnen zijn voor de studie van de vroeg-middel-eeuwse Romaanse literatuur.

– Probleem- en doelstelling

In de Middeleeuwen ontstaan in het Moorse Spanje twee nieuwe dichtvormen binnen de Arabische literatuur. Deze dichtvormen, de *muwaššah* en de *zajal*, onderscheiden zich van de Oost-Arabische literaire traditie, doordat zij strofisch van opbouw zijn (de klassiek-Arabische poëzie kent slechts monorijm). Deze dichtvormen kenden hun hoogtepunt van populariteit tussen de XIe en de XIVe eeuw. Zo imiteerden bijvoorbeeld ook de Hebreeuwse dichters van Andalusië hun Arabische voorbeelden. Voor de Romanistiek is vooral van belang dat in het hele gebied van de Romaanse talen gedichten met vergelijkbare structuur te vinden zijn.

De *muwaššah* is op de slotverzen na (de zogenaamde *xarja*; letterlijk “uitgang”) in het klassiek Arabisch geschreven of in het Hebreeuws, terwijl de *zajal* gewoonlijk in één van de Spaans-Arabische dialecten gesteld is, dat wil zeggen de spreektaal. De meeste *xarja*-s zijn eveneens in de Arabische omgangstaal geschreven. De *xarja* is vrijwel altijd een citaat van een ander gedichtje of liedje en staat lijnrecht tegenover de rest van het gedicht vanwege de “code-switching”. Dit verschijnsel komt nog sterker tot uiting in die *muwaššahāt* waar aan het einde Romaanse verzen gebruikt worden. Deze serie Romaanse *xarja*-s is voor het eerst in 1948 ontcijferd en is van groot belang gebleken voor de Romanistiek vanwege de zeer vroege datum (de oudste dateren uit ca. 1050). Wat betreft de Arabische gedichten, zijn enkele originele versies van de citaten bekend; de Romaanse verzen staan geheel los en wij hebben geen voorbeelden van oorspronkelijke versies van de citaten.

De centrale doelstelling van het onderzoek is een antwoord te geven op de vraag of deze *xarja*-s gerekend kunnen worden tot de Vroeg-middeleeuws-Romaanse lyriek, en daarmee een bijdrage te leveren aan de studie van de Vroeg-middeleeuws-Romaanse literatuur. Om een antwoord te geven op deze vraag worden de volgende punten nagegaan:

a Structuurbeschrijving

De Arabische poëzie staat niet geïsoleerd. Wij vinden in het gehele

gebied van de Romaanse talen strofische poëzie met een vergelijkbare structuur. In Italië zijn dat de *lauda* en *ballata*, in de Provence en Noord-Frankrijk de *cançó*, *virelai* en de *rondeau* met de laat-Latijnse variant *rondellus* en op het Iberische schiereiland zijn dat voornamelijk de Galicisch-Portugese *cantigas* en de Castiliaanse *canciones*, *villancicos*, *estrambotes* en *serranillas*.

b Metriek en prosodie

De *xarja* bestaat gewoonlijk uit een gering aantal verzen (2 à 4) die door binnenrijm weer op te delen zijn in halfverzen, tristicha etc. Bij de bestudering van de rijmschema's van de *xarja* doet zich het interessante verschijnsel voor dat Romaanse verzen volgens de voorschriften moeten rijmen met de overige gedeelten van het gedicht die in het Arabisch gesteld zijn. De Arabische regels voor het rijm zijn verschillend van de Romaanse. Bekeken wordt hoe de dichter dit probleem heeft opgelost.

Bij de bestudering van de prosodie van het vers doet zich een soortgelijk probleem voor. Het Arabische prosodische systeem is immers gebaseerd op het begrip kwantiteit, terwijl het Romaanse systeem syllabisch-accentueel is. Er zal getracht worden een antwoord te geven op de vraag of de dichter opereerde op het 'kruispunt' van twee systemen.

c Thematische interpretatie

Binnen deze vraag wordt gedetailleerd ingegaan op de interpretatie van de *xarja*-s met het oog op de daarin voorkomende thematiek. Ook hier wordt bekeken of de *xarja*-s zich bevinden 'op het kruispunt van twee verschillende literaire tradities'.

Curriculum Vitae

1958	Geboren te Amsterdam
1976	Diploma VWO
1976-1980	Klassieke Talen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
1980	Plaatsvervangend Docent Klassieke Talen aan het ir. Lely Lyceum te Amsterdam
1981-1986	Spaanse Taal- en Letterkunde aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
1985	Kandidaatsexamen Spaanse Taal- en Letterkunde
1986	Doctoraalexamen (<i>cum laude</i>) Spaanse Taal- en Letterkunde. Hoofdvak Spaanse Literatuur van de Middeleeuwen. Bijvakken Arabisch en Portugees
1987-1988	Onderzoeksbeurs van het Spaanse Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Dirección de Intercambios). Postdoctorale cursussen, privatissima en onderzoek aan de Universidad Complutense de Madrid
1989-1991	Docent Spaans aan het Catharijne College te Utrecht (MEAO-MTRO)
1991-1995	Wetenschappelijk Onderzoeksmedewerker in dienst van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO) verbonden aan het Instituut voor Talen en Culturen van het Midden oosten (TCMO), Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
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